

“Psalms Useful for Everything”

Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Manuals for the Amuletic Use of the Psalter

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In 1881, the Hellenist Émile Legrand published a fragment of a Byzantine text internally titled “Psalms useful for everything” (ψαλμοὶ ὠφέλιμοι εἰς πᾶν πρᾶγμα), among other excerpts from a fifteenth-century codex in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, cod. Grec 2316) included in the second volume of his *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*. The treatise proceeds in roughly numerical order through the Psalter, recommending select Psalms or groups thereof to be spoken or inscribed, often with special writing materials and substrates, and deposited in various dispositions. A host of ritual actions—including fasting and purification, fumigation, observance of astrological strictures, and the utterance and inscription of ritually efficacious words and nonverbal signs outside of scripture—accompany the deployment of the scripture itself. The goals of the practice, the things for which each Psalm is “useful,” generally correspond in an analogical manner to the content of the Psalm and range from personal protection and healing to success in agriculture, commerce, politics, and law; harmony in family relations; and the detriment of personal enemies.

Although Legrand did not note it explicitly, the title, and a portion of the beginning of the treatise, were missing from the Paris codex at the time of his edition. He apparently managed to restore the title from a table of contents added by Constantine Palaiocappa, who catalogued the manuscript while it was still intact and

kept at the royal library of Fontainebleau.¹ Recently I have been able to identify the missing fragment, now kept in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. hist. gr. 129), which preserves the title and the first ten prescriptions. These pages not only complete the Psalm treatise and one other mutilated text in the Paris codex, on dream interpretation,² but also contain a full-standing text on account of which they were likely cut out of the original, a version of a well-known account of the building of Hagia Sophia.³ The Vienna fragment of the Psalm treatise has in fact been briefly

1 The catalogue has survived and is reprinted by H. Omont, *Catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I^{er} et Henri II* (Paris, 1889), 34–35 no. 93.

2 Incipit, f. 428v of the Paris codex, περὶ ὀνείρων· εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐσπέραν τῆς σελήνης, ἐὰν ἴδῃς τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου, νικᾷς . . . (cf. P. Boudreaux in *CCAG* 8.3:41), desinit, f. 1v of the Vienna codex, . . . εἰς τὴν καθ' καὶ τὴν τριακοστὴν ἕως ἡμερῶν τριῶν γενήσεται τὸ ἐνύπνιον [ἐνύπνιον cod.] σου. I am currently preparing a separate edition of the reunited text of this treatise, a lunar oneirocriticon.

3 Ff. 1v–12r, περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τῆς ἀγίας Σοφίας, cited as an occasional witness under “Vind. 129” in the edition of T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1901), 74–108. Digital facsimiles confirm the identity of the hand, and the watermarks are also a good match, in the form of a pair of scissors: for the Vienna portion H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1, *Codices historici: Codices philosophici et philologici* (Vienna, 1961), 132, compared Briquet no. 3668 (Rome 1454), and A.-M. Doyen-Higuet, *L'Épitomé de la 'Collection d'hippiatrie grecque': Histoire du texte, édition critique, traduction et notes* (Louvain, 2006), 49, in the Paris manuscript,

mentioned by Karl Krumbacher as an example of a genre “bei den Byzantinern wenig bekannt,”⁴ but thus far the connection with the Paris manuscript has not, to my knowledge, been made. Here then I offer an edition and annotated translation of this treatise (henceforth PV)⁵ and, as a complement, of six others of similar scope found in post-Byzantine manuscripts,⁶ presented in chronological order, which may go some way toward contesting Krumbacher’s assessment. Aside from clarifications on textual matters, the annotations seek primarily to set the ritual accretions around the Psalms in the context of practices attested in handbooks of broader scope from late antiquity and Byzantium.

The most substantial treatise, PV, is transmitted in a medical miscellany, which combines Hippocratic and Galenic texts with more popular material in the genre of the *iatrosophion*, and with texts relating to astrology, divination, and natural lore.⁷ It was owned by the abbey

of Santa Giustina at Padua, before its acquisition by Gian Francesco d’Asola (c. 1498–1557/58), from whom it came to the French royal library at Fontainebleau. Little can be concluded about the place and time of redaction, though there is a tantalizing first-person reference to witnessing the efficacy of one particular prescription (§15). The language is colored by the vernacular, but foreign loanwords are not prominent. Across forty-five recipes some sixty-three Psalms are prescribed, most singly, some in groups of two or more. Of these the majority have broadly medical or healing aims, while smaller subsets seek personal protection from natural and supernatural ills; advancement in commercial, legal, or political affairs; or a more aggressive influence on the behavior of third parties. Often the application of the Psalm itself is elaborated considerably with further rituals and ritual texts.

The first of the additional treatises comes in a contemporary medical miscellany, also now in Paris, the relevant unit of which was almost certainly copied by the same scribe.⁸ More precisely B contains two

Harlfinger no. 29 (1446). The fragment was in Vienna in time to be included in Nessel’s catalogue, printed in 1690.

4 K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1897), 631.

5 Besides the Vienna material not known to him, Legrand (*Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, vol. 2 [Paris, 1881], 20–24) omitted portions of the treatise in the Paris codex, namely the procedures for Pss. 30 (31) + 19 (20), 32 (33) + 31 (32), 55 (56) + 54 (55), 67 (68), 107 (108), 143 (144) + 145 (146) + 146 (147), and 147 + 148 + 149 + 150, as well as the surviving fragment for 27 (28), which correspond to §§12, 13, 23, 26, 31, 42, 43, and 10 in the present edition. The edition of reference for the Psalms throughout is that of A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, 9th ed. (Stuttgart, 1935).

6 A seventh probably exists in a manuscript of the eighteenth or nineteenth century seen at Lvov by E. E. Granström, who mentions, unfortunately without text, sequential procedures for Pss. 6, 39, 40, 50, 56, 77, 87, 90, and 114 (presumably in the Greek numeration, at ff. 58r–59r): “To the History of Greek Charms and Apocryphal Prayers in Byzantine Literature,” *PSb* 27 (90) (1981): 87–92 (in Russian). The manuscript has not been accessible to me.

7 The largest of the medical texts is the therapeutic treatise of the so-called John the Physician (ff. 51v–119r), mentioned by B. Zipser, *John the Physician’s Therapeutics: A Medical Handbook in Vernacular Greek* (Leiden, 2009), 23, but not included in her edition. The texts pertaining to astrology and divination are catalogued by Boudreaux, *CCAG* 8.3:32–43, cod. 44. A substantial *iatrosophion* is edited with commentary by I. Oikonomu-Agorastu, *Kritische Erstausgabe des Rezeptbuchs des Cod. Par. gr. 2316, f. 348v–374v* (Thessalonike, 1982). From a variety of smaller collections including amuletic procedures, excerpts have been published from ff. 320r (Legrand, *Bibliothèque* 18), 320v (ibid. 18–19), 340r (A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* 1 [Liège, 1927], 550), and 426v–427r (R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur*

[Leipzig, 1904], 300–301). The natural lore includes a lapidary attributed to Hippocrates (ff. 340v–345r), edited by C.-E. Ruelle in F. De Mély, *Les lapidaires de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Âge* 2 (Paris, 1898), 185–90. On the manuscript in general see the introduction of Oikonomu-Agorastu op. cit., and more recently Doyen-Higuet, *Epitomé*, 49 and M. Zellmann-Rohrer, “The Tradition of Greek and Latin Incantations and Related Ritual Texts from Antiquity through the Medieval and Early Modern Periods” (Ph.D. diss., Berkeley, 2016), 159–70.

8 Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2236, ff. 1r–52v; a different hand begins at f. 53r, which coincides with a new quire, and may therefore be considered a distinct codicological unit. The identity of the hand with that of P (and V) has not yet been suggested, to my knowledge, but can be confirmed on the digital facsimiles of both manuscripts available via the Gallica catalogue (gallica.fr). While PV has a single-column format throughout, the first unit of cod. 2236 adopts two columns, so the two products may be separated by some years in the activity of the scribe. On this manuscript see H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1888), 2:219; Zipser, *Therapeutics*, 17, who includes the text at ff. 1r–42r as a recension of the work of John the Physician (her cod. A), another recension of which is found in PV (see above); J. A. M. Sonderkamp, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der Schriften des Theophanes Chrysobalantes (sog. Theophanes Nonnos)* (Bonn, 1987), 165–67, who identifies the main text of the second unit, ff. 61r–82r, as a version of the *Epitome* of Chrysobalantes (his cod. Pa4); D. C. Bennett, “XENONIKA: Medical Texts Associated with Xenones in the Late Byzantine Period” (Ph.D. diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2003), 460–62, identifying his “*xenon* text Θ” at ff. 54v–60r, which is included in the edition at 406–39; see now the revised version in idem, *Medicine and Pharmacy in Byzantine Hospitals: A Study of the Extant Formularies* (London, 2017).

separate treatises, B1 and B2, which occur on adjacent folia within an anonymous collection of medical and ritual recipes.⁹ The first treatise bears a title similar to that of PV, "Psalms useful when said for serious purposes" (ψαλμοὶ ὠφέλιμοι λεγόμενοι εἰς χρείας μεγάλας), and covers twenty-eight Psalms, most singly with a few in groups, across twenty-three prescriptions. In style it is briefer and simpler, the directions largely confined to the simple utterance of the Psalms. The goals are broadly comparable, but especially in the first ten sections focus notably on moral betterment, while the last two address a concern not seen in PV, the identification of thieves. The second, B2, adds a further eight Psalms over as many prescriptions, and continues to pursue personal protection and advancement.

The next treatise dates to the sixteenth century, a fragment of a paper manuscript now in Dresden (D).¹⁰ The prescriptions seem in fact to fall into five distinct groups, likely assembled from multiple exemplars available to the compiler, one of which (D4) does not contain any Psalms but is included here because it offers, alongside some medical recipes, an interesting ritual procedure for the identification of a thief (§1). In total, D prescribes 45 different Psalms, with a similar range of goals as in PV. In two of the groupings, D1 and D3, the prescriptions overlap strikingly, though not wholly or in the same order, with material in B1, which, along

with a more limited concurrence between B2 and D2, suggests a more extensive and dynamic circulation for the recipes and treatises than happens to survive in these few manuscripts.¹¹

Two more treatises come from the seventeenth century, but very likely reflect the continued copying and use of earlier material. One, now in Moscow (M), was copied at Athos in a codex of broadly theological, astrological, and alchemical content.¹² It offers a much smaller number of prescriptions, restricted to the early part of the Psalter (Psalms 15–23). The other is unfortunately known only from excerpts printed from a codex in St. Petersburg (S), for which no shelfmark was provided and which has not been accessible for a fuller edition.¹³ Like M, this treatise also travels in the company of texts on astrology and divination. Its range is somewhat broader but is still confined to the first two-thirds of the Psalms. The excerpts are reprinted here, with some tentative corrections. Ellipses mark omissions in the original publication, where only incipit and desinit were recorded.

A final two treatises survive in manuscripts dated to the eighteenth century, but again likely depend on earlier traditions. The first, of unknown provenance and now kept in Athens (A), is like M a small gathering of Psalm-specific procedures, in this case included within a larger collection of medical recipes, which

9 "Other, various chapters on healing" (ἕτερα κεφάλαια διάφορα ἱατρικά), ff. 42r–45r, unpublished. The first (B1, f. 44r) is separated from the second (B2, f. 45r) by a group of primarily pharmacological recipes with a few ritual elements. I note in particular a version of a technique excerpted from the *Geoponika* (7.14) for the preservation of wine via inscription of Ps. 33 (34):9 at f. 44v, *περὶ οἴνου ἵνα μὴ τραπῇ ποτέ* (on which see further below), followed by directions for a ritual to protect a vineyard, including an exorcism of pests.

10 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Mscr. Dresd. Da. 63, ff. 4v–6v. The manuscript was formerly in the collection of Valentin Ernst Loescher (1673–1749), whence it appeared in the *Catalogus bibliothecae viri summi D. Valentini Ernesti Loescheri theologi Saxonici* 3 (Dresden, 1751), 711 no. 12785, described as "Philacteriorum descriptiones, & alia magica Graeca (sex plagulae sunt, quarum antiquitatem scripturae genus testatur)." See also F. Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, *Katalog der Handschriften der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1882), 298. It consists of two unrelated fragments of paper codices: unit II, ff. 4–6, contains the material of interest, which begins on f. 4v following a small gathering of medical recipes; unit I, ff. 1–3, dates to the previous century and contains a selenodromion (σεληνηοδρόμιον [sic] *περὶ βροχῆς καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ τὰ λοιπά*) followed by instructions for protective amulets (φυλακτήρια) and an exorcism.

11 In D1, compare §2 with B1 §13, §§3–4 with B1 §§14–15, §5 with B1 §§16 and 18, §§6–7 with B1 §§19–20, and §9 with B1 §21; in D3, §1 with B1 §1, §§3–4 with B1 §§3–4, and §§6–12 with B1 §§6–12; and in D2, §7 with B2 §6 and §8 with B2 §8.

12 Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, cod. Sinod. gr. 261, ff. 230v–231r; the incipit and desinit of "De psalmis magicis" are printed by M. A. F. Šangin in *CCAG* 12:72; on the manuscript see in general *ibid.* 70–72 (cod. 23). A dating to 1635 is given in *CCAG*, but there are historical notes on the succession of Byzantine emperors and Ottoman sultans referring to the present time as the fifth regnal year of Ahmed I, i.e. 1607/8, on f. 230r. The codex was brought from the Iviron Monastery on Athos to Russia in 1655 by Arsenii Sukhanov (1600–88). The rest of the contents include alchemical recipes, a brontologion, and a seismologion.

13 St. Petersburg, Filial Instituta Rossijskoj Istorii Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, sine numero, ff. 55v–60r, excerpts ed. Šangin in *CCAG* 12:18–19 with 122–23. On the manuscript in general see *ibid.* 9–25 (cod. 3). It was copied by Kyryll Kouridaleus (παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίλλι τοῦ Κουριδάλεως) at the request of a certain Franko (ὑπὸ μεγίστην παράκλησιν τοῦ κὺρ Φράγκου) in 1684/85 at Moscow, and once belonged to a monk of the monastery of St. Nikolai in that city.

makes up the whole of the manuscript.¹⁴ The second (N), probably produced at Constantinople, is more substantial, and comes within an extensive collection of texts on medicine, astrology, angel- and demonology, and recipes for ritual practices for both protective and aggressive aims, the bulk of which is in a cryptographic alphabet.¹⁵ The cipher, which functions in general by modification of the letters of the alphabet (rotation, removal, or addition of strokes), is recorded in a table at the beginning of the codex, though not explained with full equivalences (f. 4v; fig. 1). The treatise itself mixes in some ritual procedures that do not involve the Psalms, which are included here for the sake of context. A novelty in N is the addition of designs for elaborate seals to accompany the prescribed Psalms, some of which in turn feature shorter Psalm excerpts, and occasionally a personalization in the form of a prayer on behalf of a named person. A certain Kostas and Nikos appear once each in this capacity (N §§10 and 12, respectively), and Kostas recurs in formulae for amulets elsewhere in the

manuscript.¹⁶ This feature is likely a sign of copying from multiple exemplars, as in the case of D, perhaps here in the form of loose-leaf notes, each of which had been personalized in turn for a particular client.

It is tempting, but not entirely satisfactory, to assign the amuletic use of the Psalms attested by these treatises to the category of magic. This label has often been applied to analogous treatises in the Jewish, Syriac, and Coptic Christian traditions, on which see further below. In fact the present material does have a contribution to make to the study of the Byzantine rituals conventionally described as magical.¹⁷ The ritual context in which the Psalms are put to instrumental use marks the practice off from liturgical prayer and private devotion,¹⁸ and might indeed draw censure from external observers as superstitious. Such texts, which claim a degree of direct efficacy distinct from explicit divine agency, surely stand apart from simpler guides for the use of the Psalms in prayer, known from an early date in the Byzantine tradition via an epistolary treatise of Athanasius of Alexandria.¹⁹ No fewer than ninety one-to three-verse selections from the Psalms are similarly recommended in a treatise by the roughly contemporary Evagrius of Pontus, to combat demons and resolve various crises in the lives of ascetics, among nearly four hundred other biblical passages.²⁰ Excerpts from the

14 Athens, Ethniko Istoriko Mouseio, Istorikē kai Ethnologikē Etairia tēs Ellados, Archeio Istorikōn Engraphōn, cod. 241. The manuscript has been described by A. Delatte, *CCAG* 10:51–52 (cod. 28), an *ἱατροσόφιον* with 227 recipes and notes added by two other hands; excerpts covering “les recettes de caractère magique” are edited in Delatte, *Anecdota* 136–38, including the treatise in question at 137. The treatise is marked off from the rest of the recipes by a horizontal dividing line; the individual prescriptions within it are treated as a whole, as indicated by the absence of any internal dividing lines.

15 St. Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacional’naja Biblioteka cod. gr. 646, ff. 5r–20r. The treatise is mutilated at the end by damage to f. 20; of this and the next two folia the right half has been cut off, though the text of the treatise at this point can be reconstructed with reasonable confidence. By the next intact page, f. 23, a different treatise has begun. For a description and catalogue of the contents see M. Šangin, *CCAG* 12:39–47 (cod. 5), with an edition of excerpts from ff. 4r–v, 5r, 17v–18r, 23v–24r, and 71r–75r at 163–66; §1 of the present treatise is edited in full at 163, with incipit and desinit only for the rest in the catalogue, at 39–41. Among the other contents, I note a demonological manual (τέχνη) at ff. 33v–39v (cf. Šangin, op. cit. 42), similar to that edited by Delatte, *Anecdota* 33–37; procedures for lecanomancy at ff. 75v–85r (Šangin, op. cit. 43–44, compares texts edited in Delatte, *Anecdota* 40–46); ritual treatises pseudonymously ascribed to Solomon, including one addressed to his son Rehoboam (ff. 85r–87r, Šangin, op. cit. 44); and medical texts, e.g., a treatise on phlebotomy at ff. 109v–110v (Šangin, op. cit. 46). On the provenance, Šangin notes, “Possessore codicis J.C. Čin-Traikov trucidaverunt Turcae a clericis Graecis ad persequendum moti” (op. cit. 39); the donor to the RNB was Lobanov Rostovskij (1824–96), once Russian ambassador at Constantinople, who probably acquired it there after the previous owner’s death.

16 Note τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Κώστα in a collection of astrological talismans prescribed via the lunar calendar, at f. 64v (cf. Šangin, *CCAG* 12:42), and the conclusion to another amulet for success in a court case, βοήθησατέ μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ δούλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ Κώστα (f. 93r, Šangin, op. cit. 45).

17 For a good introduction to these see the contributions in H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Magic* (Washington, D.C., 1995). A recent collection and analysis of texts can be found in Zellmann-Rohrer, “Incantations.”

18 I use “instrumental” here in the sense in which Richard Gordon takes “magic” as a convenient shorthand for “instrumental religion”; see “Charaktères between Antiquity and the Renaissance: Transmission and Re-Invention,” in *Les savoirs magiques et leur transmission de l’Antiquité à la Renaissance*, ed. V. Dasen and J.-M. Spieser (Florence, 2014), 253 n. 1.

19 *On the Interpretation of the Psalms* (Εἰς τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τῶν ψαλμῶν), PG 27:12–45. There is an analogous tradition of prayer instructions for the Psalter in the medieval West: see B. Rebiger, *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim: Buch vom magischen Gebrauch der Psalmen; Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Tübingen, 2010), 34 with n. 148.

20 The *Antirrhetikos*, which does not survive in the original Greek, but is known from a Syriac translation, edited by W. Frankenberg, *Evagrius Ponticus*, *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft*

section of the treatise of Athanasius in which particular Psalms are recommended as prayers in particular situations also circulated independently,²¹ and no doubt because of this association Athanasius's authorship was later imputed to a method for bibliomancy using the Psalter.²² The present texts do at times pursue goals at odds with Christian morality, in particular aggressive rituals such as PV §17, which promises to help the user depose another from a position of power and usurp it for himself. The numerous recipes that target "enemies," e.g. PV §2, could conceivably have served as a preemptive strike against individuals who had not in fact done the user any harm, and in any case contrast sharply with the Christian virtue of meekness.

On balance, however, the classification as magical is one that the contemporary users of the treatises would have vigorously resisted, a consideration behind the blander term "amuletic" in the title of the present contribution. There is little doubt that these users would have identified as anything but Orthodox

Christians.²³ Indeed the recipes explicitly align themselves against what they term "magical" (μαγεία, μαγικός and μάγιος, γοητεία) in offering solutions to afflictions caused thereby, as in PV §§8 and 24, and deploy other mainstays of Byzantine Christian practice such as the sign of the cross (PV §22, S §9) and the cult of the saints, including Cyprian, Thomaïs, the seven sleepers of Ephesus, and Abercius.²⁴ One of the procedures concerned with counteracting magic (μάγια, N §15) provides a neat illustration of this nexus. In the pursuit of an entirely orthodox goal, it combines instrumental use of Christian scripture and cult of Christian saints with astrological lore, fashioning a ritually efficacious liquid by exposing a mixture of holy oils from several saints to the influences of the stars at night. Throughout the treatises an explicit role for the clergy appears only twice (PV §45, S §6), which indicates that these texts serve a sphere of ritual practice outside of the official work of the Byzantine Church, however much they may be informed by it.

The study of the place of the Psalms in Byzantine culture has advanced most recently with the work of Georgi Parpulov on the production and history of Psalters.²⁵ The importance of this corpus to Byzantine spirituality is clear, and its high regard among elites is demonstrated by the care and expense devoted to Psalters as luxury books. Attention to the present treatises, which have so far been little noted among Byzantinists, can expand the scope of such study into popular cult and belief and traditional healing. The Psalter played a well-known part in bibliomantic divination.²⁶ Here, in a complementary development, we see the sacred text take on a more active role in attempting to bring the will of its readers to pass.

Indeed the amuletic use of the Psalms can be traced over a long career in Byzantine practice outside

der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, n. F. 13.2 (Berlin, 1912), 472–545; for the Psalms, see the index of Evagrius of Pontus, *Talking Back: A Monastic Handbook for Combating Demons*, trans. D. Brakke (Collegeville, MN, 2009), 183–84.

21 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana cod. gr. XI 24, ff. 264r–256r, inc. περί τῆς βίβλου τῶν ψαλμῶν· ἐὰν διώκη παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἢ καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων καὶ πολλοὺς ἔχῃς τοὺς ἐπαναστάντας· κατὰ σοῦ, λέγε ἃ ἐστὶν τὸν γ' ψαλμὸν . . . , des. ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀξιῶν κριτὴν γενέσθαι, μόνος γὰρ αὐτὸς κριτὴς δίκαιος, καὶ λέγε τὸν κε' ψαλμὸν καὶ τὸν λδ' καὶ τὸν μβ' οἳ τινὲς εἰσιν "κρίνον με κύριε," ἄλλον "δίκασον κύριε τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας," καὶ "κρίνον με ὁ θεὸς καὶ δίκασον τήν." In this case the incipits of the Psalms have been added, no doubt for easier reference in practical use. For a different set of prayers, from Basil the Great, copied in a tenth-century Psalter, see G. R. Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters* (Plovdiv, 2014), appendix G.

22 The unpublished text is found in the fifteenth-century London, British Library Royal MS 16 C II, f. 67v (on the manuscript see S. Weinstock, *CCAG* 9:24–27 cod. 48), τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου· ἐὰν ἔννοιαν ἔχῃς τὴν οἰανοῦν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ἢ ὀφείλῃς πρᾶγμα ἐπερωτῆσαι καὶ ἐπιχειρήσαι· νῆστις ἀνάπτυσον τὸ ψαλτήριον καὶ οἷος ψαλμός σοι ἐξέλθῃ ψηλάφησον τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτοῦ ἡγουν τὸ ψηφίον καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου μετρήσας ἐξ ψαλμοῦς ψηλάφησον τὰ ψηφία ὥστε γενέσθαι ἐπτά καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἔβδομον ψαλμὸν ἀναγίνωσκε· καὶ εἴ τι γράφει ἔχε αὐτὸ ἐν πληροφορίᾳ· μόνον ἐκ πίστεως προσέρχου ("Of Athanasius the Great. If you have any intention in your heart or you would inquire about and attempt an action: while fasting, open the Psalter, and whichever Psalm you come upon, take its chapter, that is, its number, and beginning with it count six Psalms and take their numbers, in order to get seven, and read this seventh Psalm. Whatever is written in it, take that with assurance: just proceed with faith").

23 On varieties of belief and ritual practice within Byzantine and modern Greek Christianity, see the important works of R. P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, 1988) and C. Stewart, *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture* (Princeton, 1991).

24 PV §§24, 28, 40, and 45. For further references see the notes to the translation.

25 Parpulov, *History*.

26 See note 22 above. For other texts, *ibid.*, appendix F; and *idem*, "Psalms and Personal Piety in Byzantium," in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. P. Magdalino and R. Nelson (Washington, D.C., 2010), 88.

of these treatises. As in the treatises, the goals pursued are primarily personal protection and economic advancement, but extend also to what may more accurately be termed aggressive ritual, the compulsion or harm of a third party.²⁷ Again like the treatises, an analogical relationship generally pertains between the situation of use, or the desired outcome, and the content of the Psalm. The earliest evidence comes from the sixth-century medical author Aetius of Amida, who recommends Psalm 1:3 in two different applications to protect crops from pests.²⁸ The same verse is picked up by the Byzantine *Geoponika*, to prevent trees from losing their fruit (10.87.8),²⁹ and finds its way also into the tradition of veterinary medicine, where it is recommended for inscription on the hoof of a barren mare in the Leiden *hippiatrikon*.³⁰ Elsewhere the *Geoponika* prescribes Psalm 33 (34):9 for inscription on a wine container to preserve the contents (7.14), and another *hippiatrikon* gives Psalm 47 (48):1–7 to ease the birth

of a mare.³¹ Successful human birth in turn is the goal of the application of Psalm 136 (137):7, found in several anonymous medical recipes in later Byzantine codices.³² The aggressive procedures, again in anonymous recipes in manuscripts of the fourteenth century and later, recommend for example Psalm 66 (67) as part of a ritual to bind the tongues of enemies, Psalms 56 (57)–64 (65) for another ritual with different particulars but the same goal, and Psalm 41 (42) for compelling the love (ἔρως) of a woman by ritual means.³³ Procedures of this kind probably also underlie the “Psalm-cursing” (ψαλμοκατάρρα) against which a Byzantine apotropaic prayer seeks protection.³⁴

An obvious point of comparison for the Byzantine treatises is the Jewish tradition of *shimmush tehillim* (“use of the Psalms”), a similar instrumental approach to the Psalms for which written guides were produced. The best known of these, the *Sefer shimmush tehillim* (“Book of the Use of the Psalms”), is found already in fragments from the Cairo Geniza, and in a fuller form covering the entire Psalter in later medieval manuscripts in the West, of which printed versions have

27 On this topic see recently Zellmann-Rohrer, “Incantations” (n. 7 above), 32–35, 83–85, 111–12, 125–32.

28 *Iatrika* 13.54, ed. S. Zervos, “Ἀετίου Ἀμιδιανοῦ περί δακνόντων ζώων καὶ ἰοβόλων,” *Αἰγιῶν* 18 (1906): 289–90: in both procedures the text is to be inscribed, in the first on an unspecified substrate and bound to the trees (verse 3a–c), in the second on an ostrakon, which should be deposited in the place where they grow (verse 3a in part only). On magic and ritual in the healing practice attested by Aetius see Zellmann-Rohrer, “Incantations,” 136–43.

29 The work is to be dated between the sixth and tenth centuries: in its present form, the corpus is the result of a process of compilation and revision in the tenth century, though much of the material had already been gathered by Cassianus Bassus in the early Byzantine period; see C. Guignard, “Sources et constitution des *Géoponiques* à la lumière des versions orientales d’Anatolius de Béryte et de Cassianus Bassus,” in *Die Kestoi des Julius Africanus und ihre Überlieferung*, ed. M. Wallraff and L. Mecella (Berlin, 2009), 243–344. The heading for the chapter in which the prescription is transmitted carries an attribution to Sotion, but even if authentic, it need not apply to the entirety of the contents, especially if this Sotion is to be identified with the first-century paradoxographer and peripatetic (*RE* s.v. 2), otherwise the most likely candidate. Indeed 10.87.6 offers an application of a Homeric line in a similar amuletic function, attributed to Didymos of Alexandria, author of a *Γεωργικά* in the fourth or fifth century, and it seems likely that the Psalm recipe has been added by a Byzantine compiler as a contemporary variation on the same motif. See also Zellmann-Rohrer, “Incantations,” 142 n. 605.

30 E. Oder and K. Hoppe, *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1924–27) (= *CHG*), *excerpta Lugdunensia* 202. On this text and its genre see Doyen-Higuet, *Épitomé* (n. 3 above) and A. McCabe, *A Byzantine Encyclopaedia of Horse Medicine: The Sources, Compilation, and Transmission of the Hippiatrica* (Oxford, 2007).

31 *CHG, Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia* 10.3.

32 E.g., the fifteenth-century Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana cod. Vat. gr. 952, f. 165r, ed. S. Weinstock, *CCAG* 5.4:120, where it is combined with a direct address to the recalcitrant child drawing on the call of Jesus to Lazarus in John 11:43. Other published examples can be found in A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina, pars prior* (Moscow, 1893), 339; Delatte, *Anecdota* 115–16; B. Skouvaras, “Μαγικά καὶ ἰατροσοφικά ἐρανίσματα ἐκ Θεσσαλικοῦ κώδικος,” *Λαογραφία* 23 (1965–66): 80; B. Zipser, “Magic, Infidelity, and Secret Annotation in a Cypriot Manuscript of the Early Fourteenth Century (Wellcome MSL 14),” in *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece*, ed. S. M. Oberhelman (Aldershot, 2013), 258–60.

33 Binding tongues: from the well-known fifteenth-century Midiates manuscript, Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 273v, ed. Delatte, *Anecdota* 502 with 654, and a recipe added in blank space in a fourteenth-century manuscript of medical content, Vatican, BAV cod. Reg. gr. 181, f. 13r, ed. N. G. Polites, “Παλαιογραφική σταχυολογία ἐκ τῶν μαγικῶν βιβλίων,” *BZ* 1 (1892): 566–69. Erotic: from the same Midiates manuscript, Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 199r, ed. Delatte, *Anecdota* 467, with a later version from the eighteenth-century Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 696, f. 2v, ed. *ibid.* 548.

34 In fragmentary form in a sixteenth-century manuscript, Paris, BnF cod. gr. 395, f. 43r (unpublished), . . . ἐπισκεψόν τὸν δοῦλόν σου Φλουρί καὶ ἀποδιώξον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀνάθημα, τὴν κατάρρα, τὴν ψαλμοκατάρρα (“Shelter your servant Phlouri(s) and chase away from him the ban, the curse, the Psalm-curse”); and in fuller form in the eighteenth-century Paris, BnF cod. gr. 825, ff. 6v–12v, edited by Delatte, *Anecdota* (n. 7 above), 230–38 (at f. 6v, ed. p. 230), where it is attributed to Athanasius the Great.

continued to circulate through the modern period. A detailed comparative study is beyond the scope of this article, which aims rather to establish and contextualize the Byzantine texts as a foundation for future work of this kind.

A preliminary examination shows that while the Byzantine tradition may indeed have been influenced by the Jewish one, which is earlier at least in regard to attestations, it developed extensively along its own path, more so than can be said for analogues in Christian Arabic and Syriac.³⁵ Though the earliest surviving, full-standing Byzantine treatise is relatively late, instructions for the use of individual Psalms in the same manner can be found in other texts at an earlier period, as already mentioned, indeed as early as the sixth-century Aetius of Amida. In the assignment of Psalms to goals and accompanying ritual procedures, the earliest and most substantial Byzantine treatise (PV) in general proceeds independently of the Jewish *Sefer*, with only a few concurrences that might suggest a common ancestor, let alone direct dependence.³⁶ The *Sefer* itself is not homogenous, and in at least one case a Byzantine prescription matches material from the *Sefer* as attested in the Cairo Geniza that does not survive in the Western tradition.³⁷

The influence of the Jewish tradition is more pronounced in the case of the later treatises, especially D, M, and S. In two revealing cases it seems that the procedure has been directly translated from a Hebrew or Aramaic exemplar, but without the accompanying

adjustment of the Psalm number for the change to the Greek numeration. S §4 gives Psalm 16, and the corresponding incipit for its Greek version, in a ritual for the detection of a thief, which would correspond to Psalm 17 in the Hebrew *textus receptus*, but is an exact match with recipes in the Geniza and the later Western *Sefer* for Psalm 16 in the numbering of the Hebrew *textus receptus*.³⁸ Similarly M §3 prescribes "the twenty-third" Psalm in a ritual for summoning a spirit for consultation in divination, which would correspond to Psalm 24 in the Hebrew, but the text matches recipes given in the Jewish tradition for Psalm 23.³⁹ Even in such cases, however, the Byzantine and later users have made the texts their own. In the latter example, the ritual is changed from a request for a mantic dream to the compulsion of the appearance of a spirit in the form of a woman, which can be questioned at the user's will, and the use of the Psalm itself is reset in a characteristically Byzantine location, the iconostasis of the house (εἰκονία), a focal point of the spiritual life of the family.

The following edition aims to balance faithfulness to the language of the originals, which is vernacular in many respects, with accessibility to a range of modern readers via normalization. Normalization has been operative especially in the handling of diacritics and diphthongs, following the conventions of literary *koine*.⁴⁰ Significant orthographic variants likely to represent the contemporary language have been kept, but trivial effects of itacism, monophthongization, and related phonetic developments have generally been normalized. Efforts have been made to make vernacular-influenced forms intelligible to readers familiar only with the *koine*, in particular by marking aphaeresis with apostrophe except in the abundant cases of the pronominal enclitics derived from ἀντός and of νά from ἵνα. Forms likely to be the result of unintentional omissions by the copyist are completed in angled brackets, most often the dropped declensional ν; the reverse, false addition of declensional ν, is silently corrected. In the

35 For an overview of the sources in these languages see Rebiger, *Sefer* (n. 19 above), 33–34 and P. Schäfer and S. Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* (Tübingen, 1994–99) (= *MTKG*), 3:10–13.

36 Independence: see, e.g., the prescriptions for Ps. 7 in PV §1 (to cure impotence) against *MTKG* 3 no. 78 f. 1a.10–14 (for success on a journey) and Rebiger, *Sefer* §10 (against enemies); for Ps. 19 (20) in PV §5 (to cure epilepsy), against Rebiger, *Sefer* §24 (for success in court); for Ps. 41 (42) in PV §§8 and 17 (to counteract magic; to usurp political power) against *MTKG* 3 no. 79 f. 2b.3–7 (to summon a mantic dream) and Rebiger, *Sefer* §46 (to summon a mantic dream; to accompany prayer; for help in distress). Possible relation: e.g., Ps. 54 (55) and 55 (56) in PV §23, *MTKG* 3 no. 80 f. 1a.10–11, and Rebiger, *Sefer* §§59–60, all against enemies.

37 PV §18 for Ps. 42 (43), with *MTKG* 3 no. 79 f. 2b.8–11. There are also a number of instances in which Byzantine recipes side with one or the other of the two main branches of the later medieval *Sefer* identified by Rebiger (exemplified by his witnesses S1551 and L34): e.g., PV §12 for Ps. 30 (31), with L34 and against S1551 (§35) and the Cairo Geniza (*MTKG* 3 no. 79 f. 1b.8–10).

38 *MTKG* 3 no. 81 f. 1a.8–15 and Rebiger, *Sefer* §19.

39 *MTKG* 3 no. 79 f. 1a.2–5 and 81 f. 1b.17–19.

40 Especially in PV, the copyist follows the norms of literary *koine* with respect to diacritics more often than not, and therefore I do not follow the practice of E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημόδους γραμματείας, 1100–1669*, 18 vols. (Thessalonike, 1968–), in lemmatizing passages from Legrand's edition (misleadingly attributed to the *iatrosophion* of Ioannes Staphidas, with which they have nothing to do) in the monotonic system of the modern demotic.

late treatise N, however, where the vernacular influence is the strongest, the absence of ν in declension-endings seemed too common to supplement. Section numbers have been introduced, and alphabetic numerals expanded except where referring to Psalm numbers. For convenience, in all references to Psalms in the translation and notes, the corresponding number in the Hebrew text, if different, is supplied in parentheses. Facsimiles of the various signs prescribed for ritual inscription (on which see the commentary to PV §10) are also given in their appropriate places in the edition.

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Sigla

- PV = Vienna, ÖNB cod. hist. gr. 129, f. 12r–v + Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316, ff. 429r–432v, s. XV (med.)
 B = Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2236, ff. 44r–45r, s. XV (med.)
 D = Dresden, SLUB Mscr. Dresd. Da. 63, ff. 4v–6v, s. XVI
 M = Moscow, GIM cod. Sinod. gr. 261, ff. 230v–231r, s. XVII (in.)
 S = St. Petersburg, Akad. Nauk s.n., ff. 55v–60r, a. 1684/85
 A = Athens, EIM, Archeio Istorikōn Engraphōn cod. 241, f. 108r–v, s. XVIII
 N = St. Petersburg, RNB cod. gr. 646, ff. 5r–20r, s. XVIII

V 12r

PV

ψαλμοὶ ὠφέλιμοι εἰς πᾶν πρᾶγμα.

1. ὁ ζ' ψαλμὸς ὠφέλιμος εἰς ἄνθρωπον δεμένον καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμπορεῖ νὰ ποιήσῃ τίποτε μὲ τὴν γυναῖκα του. ἅς ἔνι καθαρὸς ἡμέρας δύο καὶ ἅς γράψῃ τὸν ψαλμὸν
5 ἐτοῦτον εἰς χαρτίν· καὶ γράψῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τῆς μάνα<ς> του καὶ τῆς γυναίκας του καὶ ὑπαγε ἀπάνω εἰς πηγὰδιν καὶ δῆσε τὸ χαρτὶν εἰς τὸ δεξιόν του χέριν καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ θέλει κοιμηθῆναι τὴν γυναῖκα του.
2. ὁ η' ψαλμὸς ὠφέλιμος εἰς ἀντιδίκους καὶ εἰς
10 ἐγκάλεμα ἔὰν ἐγκαλῆς τινὰ καὶ θέλῃς νὰ τὸν κερδήσῃς. ἔπαρε λαγύνιν νέον καὶ ἄγωμε<ν> καὶ γέμισέ το νερόν ἀπὸ τὸ πηγὰδιν καὶ διάβασε τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐτοῦτον ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ νερόν· καὶ ἄγωμε<ν> εἰς τοῦ κριτῆ τὴν πόρταν· πρ<ο>ύχου νὰ ἐβγῇ ὁ κριτὴς ἀπὸ τὸ σπίντιν του καὶ
V 12v χύσῃ τὸ νερόν | καὶ εἰπὲ οὕτως· "ὡς χύνεται τὸ νερόν τοῦτο, οὕτως νὰ χαθῇ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ δέινος."
3. ὁ θ' ψαλμὸς· διάβαζέ το<ν> καθὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ὑποτάξεις τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου.
4. ὁ ιβ' ψαλμὸς· ἔὰν εἴσαι εἰς θλίψιν ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν,
20 διάβασέ τον καὶ θέλεις λυτρωθῇν<αι> ἐκ τοὺς ἐχθρῶν σου.
5. ὁ ιθ' ψαλμὸς· ἔὰν ἴδῃ μικρὸν παιδὶν τὸ γλυκύ του, διάβασέ το ἀπάνου το καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναπαύεται.
6. ὁ λδ' ψαλμὸς εἰς κρίσιν, καὶ κράτει τον καὶ νικᾷς
25 τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου.

PV, 14 *κριτῆς cod.

1 Most likely this "binding," a subset of the ἀποδέματα μαγικά combatted in D5 §5, is to be referred to the perceived threat of ritual binding of the sexual potency of a husband with his wife by a jealous party, for which relief of this sort is frequently offered in Byzantine texts, e.g., from the iatrosophion in P, f. 363r–v, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu, *Erstausgabe*, no. 169, and among the treatises in N §§30–32 below. Recipes for the binding itself also survive, for example in a fourteenth-century manuscript, Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z 501, ff. 174v–175r, with Zellmann-Rohrer, "Incantations," 101–2; see also Koukoules, "Κατάδεσμοι," 2:76, and PV §24 below with commentary.

2 The use of the metronym draws ultimately on an ancient Egyptian ritual practice, via the Egyptian-influenced ritual handbooks in Greek (the so-called magical papyri) that circulated in the Roman and late ancient periods: on the latter development see Curbera, "Maternal Lineage." It also appears in contemporary Byzantine ritual instructions, e.g., Delatte, *Anecdota*, 86 and 461. Direct continuity is the most economical assumption, but the practice is common also in medieval traditions that might have influenced later

PV

Psalms useful for everything

1. The 7th Psalm is useful for a man who is bound and cannot do anything with his wife.¹ Let him stay pure for two days and write this Psalm on paper, and (you) write the name of the man and of his mother² and of his wife and go off to a spring and bind the paper to his right hand, and that night he will bed his wife.
2. The 8th Psalm is useful for legal opponents and for an accusation, if you accuse someone and want to take advantage of him. Take a new flask and go and fill it with water from the spring and repeat this Psalm over the water,³ and go to the judge's door—plan ahead such that the judge is away from his house—and pour out the water and say as follows, "As this water is poured out, so too may the claim of so-and-so be dissipated."
3. The 9th (9–10th) Psalm: repeat it each day and you will subdue your enemies.
4. The 12th (13th) Psalm: if you are in distress from enemies, repeat it and you will be redeemed from your enemies.
5. The 19th (20th) Psalm: if a little child sees his dear one,⁴ repeat it over (the child) and it will get relief at once.
6. The 34th (35th) Psalm is for a court judgment: hold onto it and you will defeat your enemies.

Byzantine practice, as seen throughout the *Sefer shimmush tehilim* in both the Geniza and Western transmissions.

3 The activation by ritual utterance of liquids and other substances, for use in turn as instruments in both healing and aggressive procedures, is known from the late ancient ritual handbooks; see, e.g., *PGM IV* 2150–51, and from Byzantine technical literature, *CHG*, *Hippiatrica Parisina* 22. For the Jewish tradition see the commentary in Rebiger, *Sefer*, 213 on §6. For the related practice of writing, then dissolving the ritual text, see for the late ancient material *Suppl. Mag.* 2 no. 75.3 with commentary, and for the Byzantine, Pradel, *Griechische*, 128–29.

4 τὸ γλυκύ του. The meaning of the euphemism is made clear by the rubric for an incantation in a contemporary codex, Naples, BN cod. II C 33, ff. 233v–234r, ed. Delatte, *Anecdota*, 618–19 (cf. Vassiliev, *Anecdota*, lxviii), εὐχὴ εἰς τὴν ἐπιληψίαν ἡγουν εἰς τὸ γλυκύ ("prayer for epilepsy, that is, the dear one"); probably related is "the brotherly one" (τὸ ἀδελφικόν), as the affliction is termed in Vassiliev op. cit. 336 no. 12. See also Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, 4:318 s.v. γλυκός.

PV

7. ὁ κη' ψαλμός ἐστιν ἐὰν ἔχη κακὸν στοιχεῖον εἰς τὸ σπίντιν του· διάβασέ τον ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ φεύγει.

8. <ὁ> μα' ψαλμός· ἐὰν ἔχῃς τινὰ μαγεμένον, γράψε τον καὶ ἅς τὸ κρατῇ εἰς τὸν βραχίονα του καὶ ἰᾶται.

30 9. ὁ ρμδ'· ἐὰν θελῃς νὰ καταδικάσῃς τὸν ἀντίδικόν σου εἰς κρίσιν, γράψον καὶ σχίσε το εἰς τὴν πόρταν του καὶ ἅς τὸ διασκελίσῃ· καὶ τότε ὑπαγε εἰς τὴν κρίσιν καὶ νικᾷς τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου.

10. ὁ κς' ψαλμός· γίνωσκε ὅτι ἐτοῦτος ὁ ψαλμός
35 ἐστιν πάνυ ὠφέλιμος ὅταν μέλλῃ<ς> νὰ 'πάγῃς εἰς πόλε-
μον ἢ εἰς φουσάτον πολεμικόν. γράψε το<ν> εἰς τὸ
χαρτὶν μετὰ ζαφάρδος καὶ ῥοδοστάματος καὶ κρέμασέ
τον εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σου χεῖρα καὶ κάπνισον αὐτὸν μετὰ
σατυρ<ίου> καὶ παιωνίας καὶ χάρασσε τον καὶ εἰς τὸ
40 σπαθὶν σου. ἀκόμη ἔχει καὶ ἄλλῃ<ν> διαφοράν· ἐὰν ἔχῃς
P 429r ἐχθρὸν εἰς τὴν πόρταν σου καὶ αἰσ|χραίνῃ σε, διάβαζε
τον καὶ βάστα τον καὶ ἀπάνου σου καὶ οὐ μὴ σε νικήσῃ.
καὶ βάστα καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ σημεῖα. ✠✠ “Σαβαὼθ ✠✠
Ἀδωναῖ Ἐλωῖ Ἐλωῖ Σαμουήλ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἅγιος
45 ἀνίκητος.”

11. ὁ κζ' ψαλμός· διάβασέ τον εἰς ῥοδέλαιον ἐπτάκις
πρωῖ καὶ ἐσπέρας ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἄλειψε τὸ πρόσωπόν
σου τὸ πρωῖ πρὶν σε ἰδῇ κανεὶς ἄνθρωπος καὶ νὰ εἴσαι
ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ ἰδικούς καὶ ξένους, εἰς ἀνθρώπους καὶ
50 γυναῖκας.

12. ὁ λ' ψαλμός· διάβασέ τον ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον
τρὶς ἔως τὸ “ἐλέησόν μοι κύριε ὅτι θλίβομαι.” ὁμοίως καὶ
τὸν ιθ', εἶπέ τον καὶ ἂν τύχῃς εἰς φυλάκιν, νὰ ἐβγῇς. λέγε
τον ιθ' τὴν ἡμέραν.

PV, 52 Ps. 30:10 (με)

26 ἔχιν cod. 39 σάτηρ cod. 40 σου correxi : του cod.
46 κζ' εὐδομος cod. 51 ὁ — 54 ἡμέραν om. Legrand

5 στοιχεῖον takes on this sense already in the *Testament of Solomon*; see Lampe, *Lexikon*, 1261a s.v. στοιχεῖον B3; for the Byzantine period, in particular the idea that a στοιχεῖον could be attached to a particular place, see A §6 and Greenfield, *Traditions*, 190–95.

6 The verb suggests a liquid, and perhaps an intermediate step of dissolving the writing in water, and hence ritually activating it, is implied: see the commentary on PV §2 above.

7 Rose oil is a common ingredient for self-anointing in the ritual handbooks from late ancient Egypt, e.g., *PGM* VII 229–31 and 336–38; on special ink preparations in this corpus see also *PGM* IV 3197–202, VII 998–1000, XII 97–99. On similar instructions for inks and writing substrates for magical ritual in Byzantine recipes see Polites, “Σταχυολογία.”

7. The 28th (29th) Psalm is for if one has an evil demon⁵ in his house: repeat it for seven days and it will flee.

8. The 41st (42nd) Psalm: if you have someone who has been bewitched, write it and let him keep it on his arm and he will be healed.

9. The 144th (145th): if you want to defeat your opponent in court, write and tear it up at his door⁶ and let him step over it, and then go to court and you will defeat your enemies.

10. The 26th (27th) Psalm: know that this Psalm is very useful when you are to go off to war or to an army camp. Write it on paper with saffron and rose oil⁷ and hang it on your right hand and fumigate it⁸ with man-orchid and peony and engrave it also on your sword. Indeed it has yet another utility: if you have an enemy at your door and he is disgracing you, repeat it and also carry it on you and he will not defeat you. Carry also these signs.⁹ (*sign*) Sabaōth (*sign*) Adōnai Elōi Elōi Samouēl Jesus Christ, the holy invincible one.

11. The 27th (28th) Psalm: repeat it over rose oil seven times in the morning and evening for three days and anoint your face in the morning before any person sees you, and you will be loved by kin and strangers, men and women included.

12. The 30th (31st) Psalm: repeat it over olive oil thrice through “Have mercy on me, Lord, for I am afflicted” (v. 10). Likewise the 19th (20th): speak it and if by chance you are in prison, you will get out. Speak it 19 times a day.

8 Cf. *PGM* VII 924–39, a recipe for inscribing signs and an incantation on a metal leaf, which is also to be fumigated with incense. Fumigations of various kinds are also well attested in ritual handbooks of the Byzantine period; see Delatte, *Anecdota* index s.v. θυμιάζειν and καπνίζειν.

9 On such signs, prescribed in the treatises as *χαρακτήρες*, *χαρακτῆραι*, *σημεῖα*, and *στοιχεῖα*, see the study by Gordon, “Charaktères,” who traces their development from the ritual handbooks of Roman and late ancient Egypt through Byzantium and the Latin West and into the Renaissance. As Gordon notes for the West, later users of the inherited stock of these characters often felt the need to provide semiotic glosses for what had once been non-semiotic graphemes. The treatises (M §1 and N §§21 and 22; cf. also PV §29) provide further evidence for this process on the Byzantine side.

PV

55 13. ὁ λβ' ψαλμός με τὸν λα' ἐντάμα ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμος
εἰς γυναῖκα ὅπου ἔν ἐγγαστρώνεται. ἅς τοῦ<ς> γράψῃ
καὶ ἅς τοὺς θέσῃ εἰς τὸ προ<σ>κέφαλον ὅπο<υ> κοι-
μᾶται εἰς τρεῖς πέφτας· ἅς θέσῃ καὶ φύλλα κισσοῦ εἰς
γέμισιν σελήνης.

60 14. ὁ λγ' ψαλμός εἰς ἄνθρωπον ὅπου ἐγρεμνίσῃ καὶ
τῆ ακίσῃ τὸ κῶλόν του. διάβασέ τον ἀπάνω εἰς ἐλάδιν ἕως
τὸ "ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐ συντριβήσεται" καὶ ἄλειφε τὸ κλασ-
μένον κῶλον τρίβων αὐτὸ μετὰ τὸ ἔλαιον, καὶ βοηθοῦντος
τοῦ θεοῦ ἰαθήσεται.

65 15. ὁ λδ' ψαλμός καὶ ὁ λε' ἐνεργεῖ καὶ ἐγὼ μάρτυς·
μόνον νὰ λέγεται μετὰ κατανύξεως καὶ συντριβῆς καρδί-
ας· ὅτι ἐὰν ὅλοι οὐδὲν εἰρηνεύουν μετὰ σένα καὶ νὰ τοὺς
εἴπῃς τοὺς ψαλμοὺς αὐτοὺς μετὰ κα<τα>νύξεως ἕως
ῥαν τοῦ μεσημέριου, θέλουν εἰρηνεύσει<ν> καὶ θέλουνσι
70 ποίσειν ἀγάπην.

P 429v | 16. ὁ λη' ψαλμός· ἐὰν εἶναι ὁκάτις ὅπου σε ἐχ-
θρεύεται, διάβασε τὸν αὐτὸν ψαλμὸν ἡμέρας τρεῖς νῆστις
ἀπάνω εἰς τρία φύλλα ἐλαίας καὶ βάλε τα ἀποκάτω τῆς
πόρτας του ἢ γράψῃ τα καὶ θές τα καὶ θέλεις θαυμάσειν.

75 17. ὁ μα'· εἰ τις ἔχει ἀρχὴν καὶ θέλεις νὰ {τις} τὴν
'πάρῃς, νὰ τὸν ἐβγάλῃς, λέγε τὸν ψαλμὸν πρωὶ καὶ ἐσπέ-
ρας τρεῖς καὶ εὐρήσεις τὸ ποθοῦμενον ὥσπερ θέλεις.

18. ὁ μβ' ψαλμός· ἐὰν ἔχῃ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου τίποτε
βρῶμα, διάβασέ τον εἰς τὸ ῥοδόσταμα, εἰς τὸ οἰνάνθι, καὶ
80 βάλε τὸ ῥοδόσταμα εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. ὁμοίως ἔνε καὶ
κατηγορία ἐχθρῶν.

19. ὁ μδ'· ὅταν ἔχῃ μάχη<ν> μετὰ τὴν γυναῖκα του
καὶ θλίβεται, ἔπαρε ἀπὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν του τρίχας καὶ
βάλε τα<ς> μέσα εἰς τὸ χαρτὶν καὶ γράψον καὶ τὸν
85 ἄνωθεν ψαλμὸν καὶ χῶσέ το εἰς πόρταν λουτροῦ καὶ

13. The 32nd (33rd) Psalm, together with the 31st
(32nd), is useful for a woman who does not conceive.
Let her write them and place them on the pillow where
she sleeps for three Thursdays; let her place also ivy
leaves at the full moon.

14. The 33rd (34th) Psalm is for a person who has
fallen and broken his leg. Repeat it over olive oil
through "Not one of them will break" (v. 21), and
anoint the broken leg, rubbing it with the oil, and with
the help of God he will be healed.

15. The 34th (35th) Psalm and the 35th (36th) are
efficacious, and I am a witness: only let them be spoken
with compunction and contrition of heart, for if all are
at odds with you and you speak these Psalms with
compunction until midday, they will be at peace and
will favor (you).

16. The 38th (39th) Psalm: if there is anyone who
is hostile to you, repeat the same Psalm for three days,
while fasting, over three olive leaves and put them be-
neath his door, or write them and place them (there),
and you will be amazed.

17. The 41st (42nd): if someone has an office and
you wish to take it, to cast him out (of it), speak the
Psalm in the morning and evening thrice and you will
attain what you desire, as you wish.

18. The 42nd (43rd) Psalm: if your eye has an
infection, repeat it over rose oil—over grape-leaf
oil¹⁰—and put the rose oil into the eye. Likewise are
the accusations of enemies (a case for the use of the
Psalm) too.

19. The 44th (45th): when one has a quarrel with
his wife and is distressed, take hairs from his head and
put them in the middle of a sheet of paper and write
also the above Psalm and bury it at the door of a bath,¹¹

62 Ps. 33:21

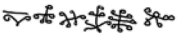
55 ὁ — 59 σελήνης om. Legrand 58 πεύτ cod.
60 ἐγρεμνίσῃ cod., ἐγρεμνίσῃ Legrand 61 κόνλον cod.
63 ἔλεος cod. 68 κα<ν>ύξεως cod. 69 τοῦ om. Legrand
74 εἰ cod. : εἰ<τα> Legrand 75 τις² cod. : τῆς Legrand
79 ἰνάθη cod. 82 ὅταν <τις> Legrand 84 τας Legrand
85 το cod. : το<ν> Legrand

¹⁰ Apparently offered as a substitute if rose oil is not at hand.

¹¹ For the bathhouse as place of deposition of ritually significant objects in the late ancient handbooks, see *PGM* II 48–51, VII 467–70, XXXVI 73–75, 333–34.

PV

ἀνατέλλοντος ἡλίου διάβασέ τον ἀπάνου εἰς νερόν καὶ ἅς
νίπτῃ ἡ γυναῖκα τὸ πρόσωπόν της.

20. ὁ μς' ἔχει ὠφέλειαν εἰς γυναῖκαν ὅπου ῥίπτει τὰ
παιδιά. διάβασέ τον ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ ἐλάδιν ἐπτάκις ἕως τὸ
90 “ὁ θεὸς κάθηται ἐπὶ θρόνου ἁγίου αὐτοῦ.” καὶ θέλεις νὰ
νηστεύῃς τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἄρτον καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ τὸ ἐλάδιν ἅς
τὸ ἀλείψῃ τὰ νεφρά της καὶ τοὺς μηρούς της. γράψον
αὐτὰ μετὰ ζαφαράδος καὶ κάπνισον αὐτὰ μὲ μαστίχην
καὶ ἅς τὰ κρατῇ μετὰ της. 

95 21. ὁ ν'. ἡ γυνὴ ὅπου ἔνε αἱμορροοῦσα ἀπὸ τὸν
ἄφεδρῶνά της· βράσε θερμὸν μὲ δάφνη<ν>, μὲ μερ-
P 430r σίνη<ν>, | μὲ δένδρολίβανον, καὶ μὲ φύλλα σκόρδων, καὶ
διάβασε τὸν αὐτὸν ψαλμὸν εἰς τὸ θερμὸν τρίς καὶ ἅς
πλυθῇ ἡ γυναῖκα.

100 22. ὁ νς'. ἔπαρε νερόν ἄλαλον ἀπὸ καθαρὴν πηγὴν
καὶ εἶπε τὸν αὐτὸν ψαλμὸν τρεῖς ἡμέρας τὴν ἡμέραν
ἐπτάκις ποιῶν ἀπάνω τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα
τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ ἅς
τὸ πίνη εἰς εὐλογίαν.

105 23. ὁ νε' καὶ νδ'. εἶπε 'παντῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ
ἀντιδίκου σου.

24. ὁ ξ'. ὅταν ἔχη μάχην ἀνδρόγυνον καὶ μάχονται
οἱ δύο ἀπὸ μάγια, γράφε τὸν αὐτὸν ψαλμὸν μὲ αἷμα
ἄσπρου πετεινοῦ καὶ διάβασέ τον καὶ ἀπάνω εἰς τὰς

and at sunrise repeat it over water and let the wife wash
her face.

20. The 46th (47th) offers utility for a woman
who miscarries. Repeat it over olive oil seven times
through “God is seated upon his holy throne” (v. 9),
and you will want to fast for three days on bread and
water, and as for the olive oil, let her anoint her lower
back and thighs with it. Write these (signs) with
saffron and fumigate them with mastic and let her keep
them with her: (*signs*).

21. The 50th (51st): the woman who is hemor-
rhaging from her posterior. Boil hot water with laurel,
myrtle, rosemary, and garlic leaves, and repeat the same
Psalm over the hot water thrice and let the woman
wash herself.

22. The 56th (57th): take unspoken water¹² from a
pure spring and speak the same Psalm for three days,
seven times a day, making over (it) the sign of the
revered cross in the name of the father and the son and
the holy spirit, and one should drink it for a blessing.

23. The 55th (56th) and 54th (55th): speak
(them) when meeting your adversary face to face.

24. The 60th (61st): when a man and wife have a
quarrel, and the two are fighting because of magic,¹³
write the same Psalm with the blood of a white

90 Ps. 46:9

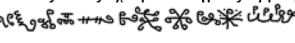
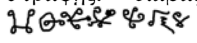
90 κάθεται cod. : κάθεται Legrand | να^νστέβεις cod.
93 κάπνισον corr. Legrand : κάμνισον cod. 94 signa in
marg. inf. add. cod. 97 δρενδρο- cod. 101 γ' τρεῖς cod.
105 ὁ — 106 σου om. Legrand 108 μὲ corr. Legrand : μα
cod.

¹² νερόν ἄλαλον. From a fuller explanation in an analogous
procedure in M §4, the meaning “drawn without speaking”
is clear (ἔπαρον νερόν...καὶ ὅταν πέρνης τὸ νερόν νὰ μὴ λαλήσῃς
μὲ κανέναν). The ritual significance is likely related to the
frequent instructions for uttering Psalms or other text over a
liquid, which is then used as an activated substance for heal-
ing or other purposes; the water here must remain free of any
chance influences. This concept probably also underlies the
stricture that water should not have “seen any sunlight” (PV
§§31, 35, M §4), for which compare the reference to astral
influences in D5 §2, with commentary. The iatrosophion in
the same codex (P f. 363r–v) contains a procedure to release
magical binding impairing the sexual relations of a man and

wife (περὶ δεδεμένους ἀνθρώπους), which calls for ἄλαλον
νερόν alongside the amuletic use of liturgical and biblical
text and an incantation (ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu, *Erstauss-
gabe*, no. 169).

¹³ That is, the couple or the practitioner diagnose the cause
of the quarrel to be hostile magic, inflicted by a jealous party
with the goal of separating the two. Recipes for just such an
effect are known from Greek handbooks: an example from a
nineteenth-century codex is edited by Papathomopoulos,
Κώδικας, 319 (f. 491r–v). For the practice in general see
Koukoulos, “Κατάδεσμοι” (part three). Compare also the
ritual “binding” of a husband’s sexual potency, addressed in
PV §1.

PV

- 110 κεφαλὰς των εἰς πέντε κυριακάς τρίς τὴν κυριακὴν καὶ ἅς ἀναγνώσουν καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ ἅς βαστοῦν καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς χαρακτῆρας γραμμένας μὲ ἄσπρου πετεινοῦ. 
25. ὁ ξβ'. ἐὰν θέλῃς νὰ ὀδῇς ἄνθρωπον ἂν ἔρχεται ἢ
- 115 ἄργῃ, διάβασε τὸν ψαλμὸν ἀπάνω εἰς κρασὶν καὶ πῖε το ἐσὺ καὶ ἂν μεθύσῃς, ἔ<ρ>χεται γοργά· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἄργεῖ.
26. ἐὰν θέλῃς νὰ εἰς ἄλλον τόπον πραγματευτῆς καὶ φοβᾶσαι ληστὰδας, γράψον τὰ σημεῖα καὶ κρέμασε ταῦτα εἰς καπνοδοῦχην λουτροῦ ἢ φούρνου ἕως ὅτου νὰ
- 120 στραφῇς. διάβαζε καὶ τὸν ξζ' φορὰς εἴκοσι. 
27. ὁ ξη'. εἰς παιδὶν μικρὸν ὅπου κλαίει, γράψον καὶ ἅς τὸ φορῇ ὥσπερ φυλακτόν.
28. [[ὁ π.]]. ἐὰν ἀγαπᾷς καὶ ἐξάπτῃ σε ὁ πόθος,
- P 439v διάβασέ τον | ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ νερὸν φορὰς ἑπτὰ μέσα εἰς ἄγγειον καινουργὸν καὶ πῖε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πλύνε τὰ μὀριά σου καὶ θέλεις ἀναπαυτεῖν. ἐπικαλοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας Θωμαΐδος.
29. ὁ ρβ' καὶ ὁ ργ'. ὅταν γίνεταί σκληρία ἐξ ἀνέμων,
- 130 γράψε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ψαλμοὺς καὶ θές τοὺς εἰς τὸν πᾶτον τοῦ καραβίου καὶ λέγε κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀνέμου ἢ τοῦ

112 μὲ <αῖμα> Legrand 117 ἐὰν — 121 om. Legrand
119 τοῖτα cod. | καπνονδοῦχ cod. | φούρνου cod. 122 ὁ
corr. Legrand : ἐ cod. 123 τὸ cod. : τὸν Legrand 124 [[ὁ
π.]] om. Legrand 126 κ(αὶ)νουρ' cod. : καινούργιον
Legrand 127 ἀναπαυτὴν cod. : ἀναπαυτῆν Legrand

14 Writing with ink made from the blood of a white dove is attested in a ritual handbook from late ancient Egypt (PGM VIII 69–70); for the later Byzantine period see the recipes published by Delatte, *Anecdota*, 72, 79, 81, 488, 505, 555, and 634; cf. also 409 and 475, where the preparation of such ink is the subject of two sections of a ritual treatise attributed to Solomon. The sense “rooster” for πετεινός, known already in Byzantium (LBG 1294b s.v.) and standard in Modern Greek, seems preferable to the generic Classical Greek “bird” for practical reasons, due to the ready availability of these domestic fowl; similarly ὄρνιθα at PV §44 is best rendered “hen” (see also LBG 1151b s.v.).

15 According to legend, Cyprian of Antioch was hired to use magic to compel the love of the Christian virgin Justina, but eventually renounced it and converted himself. This tradition surely drove the circulation of prayers of this kind under his name, as reflected, e.g., in the title of the popular compendium *Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης. Εὐχαὶ καὶ ἐξορκισμοὶ περὶ λύσεως καὶ ἀφανισμοῦ μαγείας, βασκανίας, ἀστρομαντείας, μαγικῶν ἐπωδῶν, θεσμῶν, σφραγισμάτων, φόβου, ζημίας καὶ παντὸς κακοῦ ἐκ πονηρῶν καὶ*

rooster¹⁴ and repeat it also over their heads on five Sundays, thrice a Sunday, and let them read also the prayer of Saint Cyprian,¹⁵ and let them carry also these characters written with (the blood of) a white rooster: (*signs*).

25. The 62nd (63rd): if you wish to see if a person is coming or is sitting idle, repeat the Psalm over wine and drink it yourself. If you get drunk, he is coming in haste, but if not, he is sitting idle.

26. If you wish to do business in another place and you fear robbers, write the signs and hang them on the chimney of a bath or oven until you return. Repeat also the 67th (68th) 20 times (*signs*).

27. The 68th (69th): for a small child who cries, write (it) and let (the child) wear it as an amulet.

28. [[The 8_{th} (?)]]:¹⁶ if you are in love and inflamed by desire, repeat it over water seven times within a newly made vessel and drink from it and wash your (privy) parts and you will get relief. Call also on the name of Saint Thomas.¹⁷

29. The 102nd (103rd) and the 103rd (104th): when there is a windstorm, write the same Psalms and place them on the deck of the boat and speak (them) facing the wind or the hail, holding a black-handled

ἀκαθάρτων πνευμάτων. For the legend see *AASS* Sept. 8, dies 26; in the form of a *Confession* (Μετάνοια) attributed to Cyprian himself, the text edited in Gitlbauer, *Tachygraphie*, 95–109; and in general Delehaye, “Cyprien,” and *BS* 3:1281–85.

16 A number, probably in the 80s, has been effaced in the codex. It is unclear whether the procedure originally belonged to a separate Psalm, from which a corrector later thought to dissociate it, or to the preceding Ps. 68 (69), the new number being merely a false start on the part of the copyist.

17 In an account in the collection of sixth-century tales centered around Daniel of Scete, Thomais, a virgin of Alexandria, is killed by her lustful foster father after spurning his advances, and subsequently her blessing proves useful for precisely the purpose indicated here: a monk beset by impure desire (ἔρωτι πορνείας βληθείς) is delivered by incubating at her tomb and receiving a vision of the saint in a dream. Her body was later translated to Constantinople. See *BHG* 2453 with *Auct.*; L. Clugnet, “Daniel,” 63–67; *BS* 12:529–30.

PV

- χαλαζίου κρατῶν μαχαίριν εἰς τὸ χέριν σου μαυρο-
 μάνικον καὶ λέγε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ
 θεολόγου “ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος” ἕως τέλους. λέγε το κατὰ
 135 πρόσωπα τοῦ χαλαζίου καὶ τοῦ νεροῦ καὶ πάλιν γράψον
 αὐτὸ τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον εἰς τὸ χαρτίν. ἐάν ἐστι
 θάλασσας σκληρία, σχίσε τὸ χαρτίν κομμάτια καὶ ρίξε το
 εἰς τὸ βυθὸς ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς ἁγίας ὀνομασίας ταῦτα<ς>
 “Σαβαῶθ κύριος Ἀδωναὶ Ἐλωὶ Σαμουήλ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ θεὸς ὁ
 140 θεός μου ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπε;” καὶ λέγε καὶ τὸν ξθ’
 ψαλμὸν ὅλως. αὐτὰ τὰ ἅγια ὀνόματά εἰσιν ἐβγαλμένα ἐκ
 τῶν χαρακτήρων “ἡλὶ ἡλὶ λιμὰ σαβαχ<θ>ανί, ἀβερι
 μιакρὰ Ἰερουσαλήμ.” καὶ τοῦτο ποίσε το καὶ μίαν καὶ δύο
 καὶ τρεῖς καὶ θέλεις ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
 145 30. ὁ ρδ’ ψαλμός. ἐὰν εἴσαι ἐκ χώρας μακρᾶς καὶ
 ὅλοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖνοι μισοῦσί σε, νήστευσον ἡμέρας
 τρεῖς καὶ λέγε τὸν ψαλμὸν μετὰ καθαρᾶς καρδίας καὶ
 θέλεις ἔχειν εἰρήνην μετὰ πάντων.
 31. ὁ<μοίως> ὁ ρ>ζ’. καὶ γράψε καὶ χῶσέ τον ἀπου-
 P 431r κάτω τῆς πόρτας σου. ὁμοίως εἰπέ τον ἀπάνω εἰς | νερόν

134 Jo. 1:1 139–140 cf. Mt. 27:47, Mc. 15:34 142 cf. Mt.
 27:47, Mc. 15:34

132 κρατ’ cod. : κράτει Legrand 135 καὶ¹ cod. : ἡ Legrand
 137 θάλασσας corr. Legrand : θάλασσαν cod. 140 λέγει
 cod. 142 λιμὰ cod. : λαμὰ Legrand 149 ὁμοίως — 153
 σου om. Legrand

18 For the black-handled knife as a characteristic tool of popular healers, see the condemnation of Damaskenos Stoudites, “...if that person is going to die,...how can a piece of hempen rope, or water, or a black-handled knife, or any other demonic act that you do, be of use to the patient?” (εἰ δὲ εἶναι νὰ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος...τί δύναται κομμάτι σχοινὶ κανάβιον, ἢ νερόν, ἢ μαυρομάνικον μαχαίρι, ἢ ἄλλη τίποτες ἐνέργεια, ὅπου κάνετε, δαιμονικὴ νὰ ὠφελήσῃ τὸν ἀσθενῆ, *Treasury* 4, ed. Deledemou, *Θησαυρός*; and for contemporary instructions for the practices themselves, Delatte, *Anecdota* index s.v. μάχαιρα, μαχαίριν (μαυρομάνικος, μελανομάνικος). Such a knife is in fact recommended for use in a prescription in a Byzantine veterinary treatise, to engrave Ps. 1:3 on the hoof of a barren mare (*CHG, excerpta Lugdunensia* 202; see also the introduction above).

19 That “end” refers to that of the entire gospel is improbable, for the practical reason that according to the next instruction the text must fit on a single sheet of paper, which also, if the definite article in τὸ χαρτίν there has its usual force, will already hold two Psalms. Instead the first chapter or, more economically, the first liturgical pericope (1:1–17) is likely meant.

20 Cf. Matt. 27:46, Mark 15:34. These words in turn echo the incipit of Ps. 21 (22), making them all the more appropriate in this context.

knife in your hand,¹⁸ and speak the gospel of Saint John the Theologian, “In the beginning was the word,” through the end.¹⁹ Speak it facing the hail and the water, and next write this holy gospel on the paper. If it is a storm at sea, split the paper into pieces and throw it into the deep, as well as these holy names: “Sabaōth, Lord Adōnai, Elōi, Samouēl, Israēl, God, my God—why has he forsaken me?”²⁰ Speak also the 69th (70th) Psalm, all the way through. These holy names are expressed by the characters:²¹ “Ēli Ēli lima sabachthani, aberi miakra Ierousalēm.”²² Do this once, twice, and thrice, and you will see the truth.

30. The 104th (105th) Psalm: if you are far away and all the people there hate you, fast for three days and speak the Psalm with a pure heart and you will have peace with everyone.

31. Likewise the 107th (108th): both write and bury it beneath your door; likewise speak it over water

21 ἐκ τῶν χαρακτήρων, signs which probably accompanied the previous list of “holy words” (ἅγιοι ὀνομαστίαι) in the exemplar but have been omitted here; for such signs see the commentary above on §10.

22 The first portion is based on the Aramaic words of Christ given in Matt. 27:46 and Mark 15:34 (cf. above). It is tempting to look for an Aramaic continuation in the second portion, and *Ierousalēm* could certainly be accommodated, while a phrase such as ‘bry m’qrh or m’krh might lie behind the preceding words, hence “Pass away, barren” or “troubled Jerusalem.” Since no parallels in the Psalter or elsewhere are to hand, however, this reconstruction remains pure conjecture, and a pseudo-Aramaic coinage cannot be ruled out. Indeed just such an inventive expansion upon the Aramaic core given by the gospels is found in an account of the crucifixion in a Coptic version of the *Acts of Pilate*: see J.-D. Dubois, “*Actes de Pilate*,” 86; compare also the pseudo-Hebrew prayer attributed to Christ, with accompanying Coptic gloss, in a version of the Christ-Abgar correspondence in P.Leiden Anastasi 9, ff. 13v–14r (ed. Pleyte and Boeser, *Manuscripts coptes*, 441–79).

PV

ἀπὸ πηγὰδιν τὸ οὐδὲν βλέπει ὁ ἥλιος καὶ πλύνε τὸ
πρόσωπόν σου καὶ τὰς χεῖράς σου καὶ τὸ ἀπόνιμμα χύσέ
το εἰς τὴν πόρταν σου.

32. ὁ ρι' ἐξομολόγησις καρδίας ἐστίν. καὶ ἐὰν ἔχῃς
155 ἐχθρὸν καὶ κακολογῇ σε καὶ λέγῃ κατὰ σου μάταια καὶ
ψευδῆ, γράψε τὸν αὐτὸν ψαλμὸν εἰς ἀγγεῖον γυάλινον
καὶ πλύνε το μετὰ τὸ ῥοδόλαιον καὶ ἄλειψε {σου} τὸ ἔλαιον
τὸ πρόσωπόν σου καὶ νὰ νικήσῃς. λέγε το<ν> δὲ καὶ τὸ
πρωῖ φοράς τρεῖς.

160 33. ὁ ριβ', ριγ'. ὅταν σε καταφοριάζουν εἰς κρασὶν
καὶ φοβᾶσαι μὴ μεθύσῃς, ἔπαρε ἕναν ποτήριν κρασὶν καὶ
διάβασέ τον ἀπάνω καὶ πῖε τὸ κρασὶν καὶ οὐ φοβεῖσαι.
καὶ φάγε καὶ ἀμύγδαλα πικρὰ πέντε ἢ τρία καὶ κράμβης
καυλίων ἂν ἔχῃ μετὰ τὸ ἄνθος.

165 34. ὁ ριέ', ρια', ριδ', ρις'. ἐὰν ἔχῃς εἰς τὸ σπίντιν σου
γυναῖκας δύο καὶ μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ οὐδὲν
ἔχουν εἰρήνην μέσον τας, γράψον τοὺς αὐτοὺς ψαλμοὺς
μετὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ μαύρου πετεινοῦ καὶ χῶσέ το εἰς τὸ σπίντιν
νὰ περιπατοῦν ἀπάνω καὶ θέλουν εἰρηνεύ<ειν>.

170 35. ὁ ριθ'. ἐὰν βούλῃ νὰ περιπατῇς ἔμπροσθεν εἰς
τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου, ἔπαρε νερόν τὸ οὐ θεωρεῖ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ
διάβασε ἀπάνω τὸν αὐτὸν ψαλμὸν καὶ πλύνε τὸ πρόσω-
πόν σου καὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου καὶ πῖνε.

36. ὁ ρκ', ρκα'. γράψε τοὺς εἰς τέσσαρα κομμάτια
175 χαρτὶν καὶ παράχῳσέ τα εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ οἴκου σου

from a spring that no sunlight sees²³ and wash your
face and your hands and pour out the used water at
your door.

32. The 110th (111th) is a confession from the
heart. Also, if you have an enemy and he slanders you
and speaks groundlessly and falsely against you, write
the same Psalm on a glass vessel and wash it with rose
oil and anoint your face with the oil, and you will over-
come. Speak it also in the morning three times.

33. The 112th (113th) (and) 113th (114–115th):
when they induce²⁴ you (to drink) wine and you are
afraid you may get drunk, take one cup of wine and
repeat them over (it) and drink the wine and you will
not be afraid. Also eat five or three bitter almonds and
cabbage-stem, with the flower if available.²⁵

34. The 115th (116th), 111th (112th), 114th
(116th), 116th (117th): if you have two women in
your house and they are fighting with each other and
there is no peace between them, write the same Psalms
with the blood of a black rooster and bury it in the
house such that they will walk over it, and they will be
at peace.

35. The 119th (120th): if you wish to walk about
in front of your enemies, take water that no sunlight
sees and repeat over (it) the same Psalm and wash your
face and your breast and drink.

36. The 120th (121st) (and) 121st (122nd): write
them on four pieces of paper and bury them in the four

156 ψευδ' cod. : ψεύδη Legrand 157 ῥοδέλαιον Legrand
160 καταφοριάζουν Legrand | κρασὶν corr. ex καρ- cod.
163 κραυβῆς corr. ex καυλ- cod. : κραββῆς Legrand.
166 ἀλλήλαις cod. 167 τας correxi : τος cod. : τως Legrand
169 θε^λ εἰρηνεύ cod. : θέλεις εἰρηνεύ<ση> Legrand 175 τα
correxi : τον cod. : τους Legrand

23 For this requirement see the commentary on §22 above.

24 καταφοριάζουν; referred to κατηφοριάζω in Kriaras, *Λεξικό*,
8:96 s.v. ("παρασύρω"), citing this passage but based on the
reading καταφοριάζουν in Legrand, which cannot be main-
tained. For the sense cf. LSJ 919a s.v. καταφέρω III and V.

25 In the *Geoponika* the same recommendation is given
(7.31), with five or seven almonds, alongside several other

techniques attributed to Julius Africanus: eating cooked
goat's lung, wearing a chaplet of ground-pine shoots, or
speaking a Homeric line, *Il.* 8.170. On the last see Zellmann-
Rohrer, "Incantations," 29–35 and 416.

PV

καὶ ἔχεις εὐλογίαν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος.

37. ὁ ρκβ'· ἔαν θέλῃς νὰ ποίσης φίλιαν μὲ ἄνθρωπον,
P 431v ἔαν ἔχῃς φίλον, λέγε | τὸν αὐτὸν ψαλμὸν εἰς τὸ ὄνομά του
καθὴν ἡμέραν.

180 38. ὁ ρκε', ρκς'· εἰπὲ ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ ἀλεύριν καὶ μηδὲν
τὸ μειτήσης καὶ ἔχεις εὐλογίαν ἐκ θεοῦ.

39. ὁ ρκζ' καὶ ὁ νε'· εἰς παιδὶν μικρὸν ὅπου φοβεῖται
καὶ κλαίει καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου του τρέμει, γράψον καὶ
κρέμα το ὥσπερ φυλακτὸν μετὰ ζαφαράδος καὶ μόσχου
185 καὶ ῥοδοστάματος.

40. ὁ ρλβ' καὶ ρλγ'· ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὅπου ὄν κοιμᾶται
τὴν νύκτα ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ παιδὶν ὅπου ἔχει φόβον ἀπὸ
καρδίας ἢ ἀπὸ αἰτίου τινὸς φόβου ἢ πόνου· γράψον τοὺς
ψαλμοὺς ἡμέραν κυριακὴν μετὰ μόσχου καὶ ῥοδοστάμα-
190 τος καὶ κρόκου καὶ θές το εἰς τὸ προσκέφαλόν του καὶ
θέλει κοιμηθῆναι. γράψε καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἁγίων ἐπὶ τὰ
παιδῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, γράφε δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς φύλλον
ἐλαίας "Ἰάμβλιχος Ἐξακουστουδιανὸς Μαρτίνος Ἀντώ-
νιος Ἰωάννης Μαξιμιλιανὸς καὶ Διονύσιος." ταῦτα γράφε
195 εἰς ὕπνον.

41. ὁ ρλγ', ρλθ', ρμ'· ἔαν ἐγίνετον μέσα δύο φίλους
μάχη, διάβασε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ψαλμοὺς ἀπάνω εἰς νερὸν
ἐπτάκις καὶ χύσε ἀπάνω τὸ νερὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου καὶ
εἰς τὸν οἶκόν του καὶ θέλεις ἔξιν ὁμόνοιαν.

181 μτίσις cod. : μτίσης Legrand 182 καὶ ὁ νε' om.
Legrand | ὁ² correxi : οἱ cod. | φοβήτ cod. : κάθεται
Legrand 184 κρέματ cod. : κρέμα τον Legrand 188 ἐτίου
cod. : ἐτίου Legrand 191 κοιμη⁹ cod. : κοιμηθῇ Legrand
198 καὶ² — 199 του] om. Legrand

26 A recipe in the *Geoponika* (13.8.4 = 14.5.1) for the protection of a dovecote from snakes calls for inscribing the name Adam on its four corners (ἐν ταῖς τέτρασι γωνίαις). The name itself, besides obviously designating the biblical protoplasm, could serve as an acronym of the four cardinal directions, ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία, and by metonymy the whole of the space in question, a principle alluded to in the Sibylline Oracles (τετραγράμματον Ἀδάμ...ὄνομα πληρώσαντα ἀνατολὴν τε δύσιν τε μεσημβρίην τε καὶ ἄρκτον, 3.24–28, ed. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, "four-lettered Adam...who by name filled east, west, south, and north"). The four directions are indeed given in full as part of a text to be inscribed as an amulet against headache in a recipe in the iatrosophion in the Paris portion of this same manuscript, f. 365v, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu, *Erstausgabe*, no. 183.

quarters of your house²⁶ and you will have a blessing from God and savior.

37. The 122nd (123rd): if you wish to become friends with a person, if you consider him a friend, speak the same Psalm in his name each day.

38. The 125th (126th) (and) 126th (127th): speak (them) over flour and you will not lose any of it,²⁷ and you will have a blessing from God.

39. The 127th (128th) and the 55th (56th): for a small child who is afraid and cries and trembles from his fear, write (them) and suspend it as an amulet with saffron and musk and rose oil.

40. The 132nd (133rd) and the 133rd (134th): the man who does not sleep at night, or woman, or a child who has terrors from the heart or from any cause of terror or pain: write the Psalms on Sunday with musk and rose oil and saffron and place it on his pillow and he will sleep. Write also the names of the seven holy children in Ephesus, and write the names on an olive leaf: "Iamblichus, Exacustodianus, Martinus, Antonius, Ioannes, Maximilianus, and Dionysius."²⁸ Write these for sleep.

41. The 138th (139th), 139th (140th), 140th (141st): if there has been a quarrel between two friends, repeat the same Psalms over water seven times and pour out the water at your house and at his house, and you will have harmony.

27 μηδὲν τὸ μειτήσης. The verb is best referred to μειτέω, which I would explain as a derivation from μειώτης and μειωτικός, though I know of no other attestations. Based on Legrand's reading μτίσις, Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, 11:183 classes the form s.v. μτιζω and tentatively offers "Πλησιάζω σε κ. τη μύτη μου," the only example of that sense, the verb elsewhere having the intransitive meaning "fall forward on the nose." For related ritual procedures in contemporary handbooks to protect grain, see e.g., Doyen-Higuet, *Epitomé*, 131–32 (from Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2091, f. 112r–v).

28 On the legend of these saints, reflected also in the Quran (18:9–26), who miraculously fell asleep in a cave for several hundred years, see *DACL* 15.1:1251–62, and Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende*; for their invocation in contemporary Byzantine prayers, see, e.g., Vassiliev, *Anecdota*, 327–29.

PV

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42. ὁ ρμγ' καὶ ρμέ' καὶ ρμς'. οὗτοι οἱ ψαλμοὶ εἰσιν ὠφελιμοὶ εἰς ἀνθρωπον ὅπου κινεῖ ἡ γαστήρ του πολὺν καὶ ἔχει ἐργοεντίαν· αὐτοὺς ἀνάγνωσε ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ νερόν τὸ βρόχινον καὶ ἅς τὸ πῆ τρεῖς πορνᾶς ὅταν τύχη καὶ διψᾷ.

P 432r

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43. ὁ ρμζ', ρμη', ρμθ', ρν'. αὐτοὶ εἰς | παροξυσμόν, ὠφελεῖ αὐτοὺς λέγειν εἰς ἑπτὰ πορνᾶς· κυριακὴν τρίτην πέμπτην σάββατον δευτέραν τετάρτην καὶ παρασκευήν.

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44. ἕτερον εἰς παροξυσμόν· ἔπαρε αὐγὰ μαύρης ὀρνιθας καὶ ἐκζεσέ τα μὲ τὸ κρασὶν καὶ καθάρισέ το καὶ γράψε ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ αὐγὸ<ν> "ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον τὸν πάσχοντα." γράφε καὶ τὰ σημεῖα. ✠✠✠✠✠✠✠ "Ἰησοῦς Χριστός." καὶ ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ νόσος, ἅς τὸ φάγη ὁ πάσχων καὶ ἅς λέγῃ "ἡ βοήθεια ἡμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν."

215

45. ἄλλο ὠφελιμον εἰς αὐτό· ἔπαρε τὸ ἅγιον σκο<ν>τέλιον ἡμέραν σάββατον καὶ γράφε μέσα τὸ τροπάριν ἐτοῦτο "ἀρχιερεῦ ὅσιε παμμακάριστε πάτερ θαυματουργέ θεράπον Χριστοῦ Ἀβέρκιε, ὁ προφητικὸν ἐκλάμπας βίον<ν>· καὶ ἀποστολικῶν ἡξιώθης χαρισμάτων· τῷ σωτήρι λειτουργεῖ πρέσβευε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος." καὶ

212–214 Ps. 123:8

200 ὁ — 203 διψᾷ om. Legrand | ἔστιν cod. 204 ὁ — 206 παρασκευήν om. Legrand 205 ὀφελὶν cod. 207 ἕτερον — 214 γῆν om. Legrand 215 ἄλλο — αὐτό om. Legrand

29 ἐργοεντία, a novel compound apparently from εἶργω (cf. ἔργμα) and ἐντός (cf. also ἔντερον).

30 τρεῖς πορνᾶς. On the metathesized form see Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, 18:239–40 s.v. πρωινή, with variants including πρωνή. Du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium*, 2 (appendix):157, gives a lemma for πορνή apparently from this and only this very locus (reproduced not entirely accurately, cited only as "Phylacteria MSS. Graecobarbara," and explained as "Mensurae liquidorum species").

31 For the more specific sense of ὀρνιθα cf. πετεινός as "rooster" in PV §24 above and the commentary there.

32 An adaptation of the liturgical trisagion, in which the usual "Have mercy on us" (ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς) is replaced with what is surely a place-holder for the personal name of the patient.

33 According to his *vita*, Abercius was bishop of Hierapolis in the reign of the emperors Antoninus and Verus, with such

42. The 143rd (144th) and 145th (146th) and 146th (147th): these Psalms are useful for a person whose stomach is upset and who has a bowel obstruction.²⁹ Read them over rainwater and let him drink it on three mornings,³⁰ whenever he happens to be thirsty.

43. The 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th: they are for paroxysm, it is useful to say them on seven mornings: Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.

44. Another for paroxysm: take eggs from a black hen³¹ and boil them in wine and purify the egg and write on it, "Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal, have mercy on the patient."³² Write also the signs: (*signs*) "Jesus Christ." Whenever the sickness comes on, let the patient eat it and say, "Our help [is] in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth" (Psalm 123 [124]:8).

45. Another, useful for the same: take the holy paten on Saturday and write in the middle this troparion: "Sacred archpriest, most all-blessed father, wonder-worker, servant of Christ Abercius,³³ who shone forth with a prophet's way of life—and you were accorded an apostle's graces—intercede, worshipper, with the savior for our souls to be saved. Let us stand in good order, let us stand with fear, in the name of the father and the son and the holy spirit."³⁴ Let the priest

a reputation for curing demoniacs that he was summoned to Rome to cure the daughter of Antoninus, possessed by a demon which itself demanded the saint's attention: *BHG* 2–4 with *Auct.*; Nissen, *S. Abercii Vita*.

34 For the text of this troparion for 22 October, the day of the commemoration of St. Abercius, see *Μηναία*, 1:486 and 495 with Pitra, *Analecta*, 2:168 (note προφητικῶ...βίω for PV προφητικόν...βίον, ἀξιωθεῖς for PV ἡξιώθης, λειτουργῶν for PV λειτουργέ, and the variant closing σὺν ἀγγέλοις ἀπαύστως πρέσβευε ρυσθῆναι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀπειλῆς τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν); and Follieri, *Initia*, 1:181 with further bibliography.

The formula στῶμεν καλῶς has been added as a closure to the troparion. It was originally the incipit of an acclamation preceding the Communion in the Byzantine liturgy and was also extremely popular for amuletic purposes and as a preface or coda to Byzantine incantations and related texts; see, e.g., the index in Delatte, *Anecdota* s.v.

ἄς λειτουργήσῃ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπάνω τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ ἄς
 λειτουργήσῃ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἀβερ-
 225 κίου καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς λειτουργίας ἄς θέσῃ ἁγίασμα
 τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανίων καὶ ἄς ᾽ποπλύνῃ τὰ γράμματα καὶ
 ἄς τὸ πῆ ὁ ἀσθενῶν.

B₁

- 44r ψαλμοὶ ὠφελίμοι λεγόμενοι εἰς χρείας μεγάλας.
 1. εἰς πόλεμον πορνείας· λέγε ψαλμὸν λδ' καὶ λς'.
 2. εἰς ἀδικίαν· ψαλμὸν δ' καὶ νδ'.
 3. εἰς μνησικακίαν· ψαλμὸν λ'.
 5 4. εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν· ψαλμὸν ιβ' καὶ ις'.
 5. εἰς καταφρόνησιν· ψαλμὸν ο' καὶ ρ' καὶ μβ'.
 6. εἰς πλήθος λογισμῶν· ψαλμὸν νε' καὶ ξη'.
 7. εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν· λέγε ψαλμὸν κς'.
 8. εἰς βλασφημίαν· λέγε νη'.
 10 9. εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν· ψαλμὸν τρίτον.
 10. εἰ συνεχέθης μετὰ τινος· ψαλμὸν ε'.
 11. εἰ διώκεσαι παρὰ τινος· λέγε ζ'.
 12. εἰ οὐ κρίνεται ἡ θλίψις· ψαλμὸν ζ'.
 13. ἐὰν θέλῃς νὰ ἔλθῃς εἰς τὸν ἐχθρόν σου· ψαλμὸν ια'.
 15 14. εἰ πολεμῆσαι ὑπὸ τινος· ψαλμὸν ιζ'.
 15. ἐὰν εἰσέρχῃς εἰς πρόσωπον δικαστοῦ ἢ ἄρ-
 χοντος· λέγε ψαλμὸν κ'.
 16. ἐὰν πλέκουσιν ἀδικίαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ κατὰ σου·
 ψαλμὸν κα'.
 20 17. εἰς τὸ καταβαλεῖν τὸν ἐχθρόν σου· λέγε ψαλμὸν
 “ἵνα τί ὁ θεὸς ἀπώσω εἰς τέλος;”
 18. ἐὰν διαβάλλῃς ὑπὸ τινος καὶ ἄγεσαι εἰς
 κριτήριον· λέγε ψαλμὸν κς'.
 19. ἐὰν διδάξῃς θελῇς τινά· ψαλμὸν λς'.
 25 20. ἐὰν νικῇσαι θελῇς τινά· ψαλμὸν λδ'.

B_{1,21} Ps. 73:1 (τί ἀπ. ὁ θ.).

226 γράμματα corr. ex κρᾱ- cod.

35 αἰχμαλωσία, sc. νοῦ: for the idiom see D3 §4 below with commentary.

36 πλήθος λογισμῶν. The desire to avoid an overabundance of λογισμοί in Byzantine moral thinking is well expressed in the *Apophthegmata patrum*, where an anchorite complains, “I have many thoughts and am in danger because of them”

perform the liturgy over the writing and let him perform it in the name of the holy apostle Abercius, and after the end of the liturgy let him place the sacrament of the holy mysteries (in the paten) and wash off the writing, and let the sick man drink it.

B₁

Psalms useful when said for serious purposes.

1. For a struggle against fornication: say Psalm 34 (35) and 36 (37).
2. For unjustness: Psalm 4 and 54 (55).
3. For a grudge: Psalm 30 (31).
4. For distraction:³⁵ Psalm 12 (13) and 16 (17).
5. For contempt: Psalm 70 (71) and 100 (101) and 42 (43).
6. For a multitude of thoughts:³⁶ Psalm 55 (56) and 68 (69).
7. For despair: say Psalm 26 (27).
8. For blasphemy: say (Psalm) 58 (59).
9. For confession: the third Psalm.
10. If you have become frustrated with someone: Psalm 5.
11. If you are persecuted by someone: say (Psalm) 6.
12. If your affliction (remains) undecided: Psalm 7.
13. If you wish to go against your enemy: Psalm 11 (12).
14. If you are attacked by someone: Psalm 17 (18).
15. If you go before a judge or ruler: say Psalm 20 (21).
16. If your enemies contrive unjustness against you: Psalm 21 (22).
17. For destroying your enemy: say the Psalm, “Why, God, have you cast (us) out unto the end?” (73 [74]).
18. If you are slandered by someone and brought to court: say Psalm 26 (27).
19. If you wish to teach someone: Psalm 36 (37).
20. If you wish to defeat someone: Psalm 34 (35).

(πολλοὺς λογισμοὺς ἔχω, καὶ κινδυνεύω ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, coll. syst. 10.81, ed. Guy, *Apophthegmes des pères*). Combat with λογισμοί is also the subject of requests for spiritual advice and help in the form of prayer from the correspondents of the holy man Barsanuphius, e.g., *Letters* 417, 423–27, 432, 443, and 494, ed. de Angelis-Noah and Neyt, *Barsanuphe*.

21. ἐὰν βλέπῃς ἄνθρωπον τινα παρανομοῦντα· λέγε ψαλμὸν λθ'.

22. εἰς κλέπτην· γράψον τὸν ψαλμὸν μζ' εἰς ἀγέννητον καὶ θές αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν σου, μόνον ἐκεῖ εἰς
30 τὸ σπίτιν ὅπου ἐγένετο ἡ κλεψία, καὶ νὰ τὸν ἴδῃς φανερά. ἡ ἀρχή· "μέγας κύριος καὶ αἰνετὸς σφόδρα."

23. ἐὰν χάσῃ κανεῖς τίποτε καὶ θέλῃ νὰ εὔρῃ τὸν κλέπτην, ποιησάτω οὕτως· ἄσπρον αὐγοῦ καὶ ψιμίνθιν ἔνωσον καὶ ποιήσας ὀφθαλμὸν ἀνθρώπου καὶ κύκλω
35 αὐτοῦ γράψον "ἰδοὺ ἦρα ὀφθαλμόν." καὶ ἀπέναντι τοῦτου ἴστησον τοὺς ὑπόπτas ἡγουν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἐφορᾶσαι καὶ βλέπε ἕως οὗ δακρύει. εἰ δὲ ἀρνεῖται, ἔπαρον καρφίον σιδηροῦν ἢ ξύλινον ἀπὸ πρίνου καὶ πῆξον εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· καὶ κρούσας, ὁμολογεῖ μετὰ φωνῆς.

B2

45r 1. τὸ πρωῒ ὅταν ἐξέλθῃς ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου σου, λέγε ψαλμὸν νς' "ἐλέησόν με ὁ θεός, ἐλέησόν με ὅτι ἐπὶ σοὶ πέποιθεν."

31 Ps. 47:2 35 cf. Pss. 120:1, 122:1 B2,2–3 Ps. 56:2

37 This Psalm features also in two Latin recipes for a similar procedure, where more explicit instructions make clear that the goal is an apparition of the culprit in a dream or daytime vision: Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka cod. I.Q.1 (1361–65 ce), f. 82v, ed. Schultz, "Zaubermittel," 302, experimentum uerum de furtu. si furtum factum fuerit in domo tua, scribe hunc psalmum 'magnus dominus' et hos characteres et pone sub caput tuum in loco et nocte siue die uidebis furem ("A true experiment concerning theft. If a theft happens in your house, write this Psalm, 'Great is the Lord,' and these signs and put in a place under your head and, night or day, you will see the thief"); Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek cod. Pal. Germ. 263 (16th century), f. 269r (unpublished), ad manifestandum furtum. scribe psalmum 'deus iudicium tuum regi da' et pone eum sub capite tuo quando uadis dormitum. tunc apparet tibi in somno quis fuerit fur. idem facit psalmus 'magnus dominus et laudabilis nimis' cum his characteribus ("For revealing a theft. Write the Psalm 'God, give your judgment to the king' [71 (72)] and put it under your head when you go to sleep. Then whoever was the thief will appear to you in a dream. The same is accomplished by the Psalm 'Great is the Lord and greatly to be praised,' with the following characters"). On medieval rituals to reveal thieves, with attention to Christian and Jewish traditions and transmission of knowledge between them, see Bohak, "Catching a Thief," who discusses the use of Pss. 15 (16), 50 (51), and 118 (119): 137.

38 This material is frequently prescribed as a substrate in Byzantine ritual recipes: see the index in Delatte, *Anecdota*,

21. If you see a person transgressing: say Psalm 39 (40).

22. For a thief:³⁷ write Psalm 47 (48) on skin from an unborn animal³⁸ and place it on your head, but there in the house where the theft occurred, and you will see (the thief) clearly. The beginning: "Great is the Lord and greatly to be praised" (v. 2).

23. If someone loses something and wishes to find the thief, let him do as follows:³⁹ combine egg-white and white lead and make a human eye and also write around it, "Behold, I have raised up an eye!"⁴⁰ Make the suspects, that is, those whom you are examining, stand in front of it and watch until (the thief) starts to cry. If he denies (it), take a nail of iron or oak-wood and drive it into the eye. When you strike (it), he will confess out loud.

B2

1. In the morning when you leave your house, say Psalm 56 (57), "Have mercy on me, God, have mercy on me, for in you (my soul) has trusted" (v. 2).

658 s.v. ἀγέννητος; for specifications of writing materials see in general Polites, "Σταχυολογία."

39 Forms of this procedure are attested in Greek handbooks from late ancient Egypt: *Suppl. Mag.* 2 no. 86 fr. a col. ii 1–8 and *PGM* V 70–95; in the latter it is made clear that the eye is meant to figure the eye of the Egyptian god Horus (*wedjat*). The Byzantine and post-Byzantine versions previously known substitute other accompanying inscriptions: the refrain from a liturgical antiphon for Holy Thursday (incipit διὰ Λαζάρου τὴν ἑγερσιν Κύριε; see *Τριώδιον*, 373; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, 118; Follieri, *Initia*, 1:305 with further bibliography), which runs ὁ δὲ παρανομος Ἰούδας οὐκ ἠβουλήθη συνιέναι (cf. also Ps. 35 [36]:4) in Cambridge, Trinity College cod. R.15.36, f. 29r (unpublished) and Florence, BML cod. Plut. 86.14, f. 47r, ed. Vassiliev, *Anecdota*, 341 and Delatte, *Anecdota*, 625; and non-Greek words and signs in Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 28r, ed. Delatte, *Anecdota*, 67. For this tradition, which also includes medieval Latin texts, see Horak and Gastgeber, "Zwei Beispele," 205–9; Zellmann-Rohrer, "Incantations," 118–21.

40 The text of the inscription appears to draw on both Pss. 120 (121):1, "I have raised up my eyes to the mountains" (ἦρα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου εἰς τὰ ὄρη) and 122 (123):1, "To you I have raised up my eyes" (πρὸς σὲ ἦρα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου). The latter Psalm is used in a procedure to compel a fugitive slave to return in the Western *Sefer shimmush tehillim*, found also in the *Sefer ha-razim*: see Rebiger, *Sefer* §156 (from S1551) with commentary at p. 296.

2. ἕτερον ψαλμόν, νζ' "εἰ ἀληθῶς ἄρα δικαιοσύ-
 5 νην>" ποιήσον φυλακτήριον καὶ βάστα αὐτόν.
 3. ψαλμὸς νθ' "ὁ θεὸς ἀπώσω ἡμᾶς." ποιήσον καὶ
 αὐτὸν φυλακτήριον.
 4. ὅταν σε καταλαλοῦν· λέγε ψαλμόν ξα' "οὐχὶ τῷ
 θεῷ ὑποταγήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ μου;"
 10 5. εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ χρόνου λέγε ψαλμόν ξζ' "ὁ θεὸς
 οἰκτιρήσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ εὐλογήσαι ἡμᾶς."
 6. περὶ ἐχθρῶν· λέγε ψαλμόν ρ' εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπάνω
 καὶ πίε καὶ νικᾷς· "ἔλεον καὶ κρίσιν ἄσομαί σοι κύριε."
 7. περὶ φόβου στρατάς· φόρει ψαλμόν ια' καὶ οὐ
 15 κινδυνεύσεις· "σώσόν με κύριε ὅτι ἐκλέλοιπεν ὁ σίος."
 8. ἐὰν θέλῃς νὰ ἀλλάξῃς ἐξουσίαν· γράφων φόρει
 ψαλμόν ρθ' "εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· κάθου ἐκ
 δεξιῶν μου."

D1

- 4v 1. "θεὸς πρὸς ἐθνῶν." <...>
 2. κατὰ τινος ἐχροῦ σου· ψαλμὸς ια'·
 3. ὅταν πολεμῆσαι ὑπὸ τινος· ιζ', ν'·
 4. ὅταν εἰσέλθῃς εἰς δυναστείαν <ν>· κ'·
 5 5. ὅταν πλέκουσι τὴν ἀδικίαν ἐχθρῶδες· κδ', ὁμοίως
 καὶ ἐὰν τις ἄγῃ εἰς κριτήριον.
 6. διδάξαι θέλεις τινά· ψαλμὸς λς' καὶ οδ'·
 7. νικῆσαι θέλεις τινά· λδ'·
 8. ὅταν γεννηθῇ ἄνθρωπος· ξζ'·
 10 9. ὅταν ἴδῃς τινὰ ἐπιπορευόμενον· οη'·

D2

- 5r 1. ψαλμὸς ξδ'· ὅταν θέλῃς νὰ 'σμίξῃς τὸ πρῶτον μὲ
 τὴν σύζυγόν σου, ἀνάγνωσε τρεῖς φορές καὶ βάσταζε
 ἀπάνω σου καὶ εἰσελθε· ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ
 χρόνου ἀνάγνωθι εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου καὶ ἔχεις αὐξήσιν τὸν
 5 χρόνον ἐκεῖνον.

2. Another Psalm, 57 (58), "(Do you) truly (speak) justness" (v. 2), make it into an amulet and carry it.

3. Psalm 59 (60), "God, you have cast us out" (v. 3), make it too into an amulet.

4. When you are slandered: say Psalm 61 (62), "Will you not submit to God, my soul?" (v. 2).

5. At the beginning of the year say Psalm 66 (67), "God, take pity on us and bless us" (v. 2).

6. For enemies: say Psalm 100 (101) over water and drink it and you will overcome: "Of mercy and judgment shall I sing to you, Lord" (v. 1).

7. For fear on the road: carry Psalm 11 (12) and you will not be in danger: "Save me, Lord, for a holy one is lacking" (v. 2).

8. If you wish to assume a position of power: write and carry Psalm 109 (110), "Said the Lord to my lord, 'Sit at my right hand'" (v. 1).

D1

1. "God, by the nations..."⁴¹
 2. Against an enemy of yours: Psalm 11 (12).
 3. When you are attacked by someone: 17 (18),
 50 (51).
 4. When you go before a power: 20 (21).
 5. When they contrive injustice (against you) in hostile fashion: 24 (25); likewise too if someone takes (you) to court.
 6. You wish to teach someone: Psalm 36 (37) and 74 (75).
 7. You wish to defeat someone: 34 (35).
 8. When a person is born: 67 (68).
 9. When you see someone swearing falsely: 78 (79).

D2

1. Psalm 64 (65): when you wish to couple with your wife for the first time, read (it) three times and carry it on you and go in. Likewise too at the beginning of the year, read (it) in your house and you will have prosperity that year.

4–5 Ps. 57:2 6 Ps. 59:3 8–9 Ps. 61:2 10–11 Ps. 66:2
 13 Ps. 100:1 (ἐλεος) 15 Ps. 11:2 17–18 Ps. 109:1

B2,16 θέλης correxi : ἐλ^o cod. **D2,4** τὸ νίκο cod.

⁴¹ The citation is not from the Psalms or Odes, and probably forms the incipit of a minor prayer or hymn, directions for the use of which have been omitted by the copyist.

2. ψαλμὸς ξς'. διὰ μαγίας. γράψον εἰς χαρτῖα τέσσα-
ρα καὶ θέσε εἰς τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας τοῦ σπιτίου σου.
3. ψαλμὸς ξη'. ἔαν ἔχῃς ἐχρὸν καὶ λαλῇ κατὰ σου
πονηρά, λάβε κερὶν ἐν τῇ χειρί σου καὶ μάλαξον αὐτὸ καὶ
10 ἀνάγνωσε αὐτόν· ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς κλύδωνα θαλάσσης.
4. ψαλμὸς ογ'. εἰς ἐχρὸν καὶ φοβεῖσαι ἐξ αὐτόν, λέγε
πᾶσα ταχία καὶ γράψε καὶ βάσταζε· ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς ὀργὴν
θεοῦ κάμνε παράκλησιν μὲ τὸν αὐτόν.
5. ψαλμὸς πς'. εἰς ἐχρὸν τύραννον λέγε.
15 6. ψαλμὸς πη'. εἰς πόλεμον λέγε, γράψον, καὶ δέσον
εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σου χεῖρα.
7. ψαλμὸς ρ'. εἰς ἐχρὸν ὅταν λαλῇ κατὰ σοῦ πονηρά,
ἀνάγνωσε εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ πίε καὶ εὐθὺς τελείωσε τὸν
ψαλμόν.
20 8. ψαλμὸς ρθ'. ἔαν θέλῃς λαβεῖν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τιμᾶσ-
θαι ὑπὸ πάντων, γράψε καὶ βάσταζε.
9. ψαλμὸς ρμβ'. εἰς πληγὴν χαλάζης καὶ διακινεῖσαι
παρὰ ἐχθρῶν.

D3

1. εἰς πόλεμον πορνείας· ψαλμοὶ λδ' καὶ λς'.
2. εἰς λογισμὸν ἀκηδίας· ψαλμοὶ κδ' καὶ νδ', νγ', νς'.
3. εἰς μνησικακίαν· ψαλμὸς λ'.
4. εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν νοός· ψαλμοὶ ιβ', ις'.
5 5. εἰς κατάληψιν· ψαλμὸς ρμβ'.
6. εἰς πλῆθος λογισμῶν· ψαλμοὶ νε', ξ'.
7. εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν· ψαλμὸς κς'.
8. εἰς βλασφημίαν· ψαλμοὶ κη', ρλθ'.
9. εἰ δὲ θέλῃς ἐξομολογήσασθαι τῷ κυρίῳ· ψαλμὸς γ'.
10 10. συνερχόμενος μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφόν· ψαλμὸς ε'.

22 διακινεῖσαι conieci: διακῆν σε cod. D3,4 μαλ^u cod.
9 ἐξομολογήσατε cod.

42 The reference to magic (διὰ μαγίας) surely means the effects of harmful magic inflicted by enemies, which the procedure seeks to ward off; see further the introduction. On the specification of the four corners see the note on PV §36 above.

43 αἰχμαλωσία νοός, literally "captivity of mind." For the phrase see e.g., Theodore of Stoudion, *Parva catechesis* 99, ed. Auvray, *Parva Catechesis*.

44 πλῆθος λογισμῶν: for the idiom see B1 §6 above with note.

45 The Greek συνερχόμενος μετὰ may have the more neutral sense "meet," but the content of the particular Psalm prescribed here suggests interpersonal conflict.

2. Psalm 66 (67): on account of magic. Write (it) on four pieces of paper and place in the four corners of your house.⁴²

3. Psalm 68 (69): if you have an enemy and he says wicked things against you, take wax in your hand and crush it, and read (the Psalm); likewise too for rough seas.

4. Psalm 83 (84): for an enemy, whom you fear, speak it all quickly and write and carry (it); likewise too for the anger of God, make an appeal with the same one.

5. Psalm 86 (87): against a hostile ruler, speak (it).

6. Psalm 88 (89): for war, speak, write, and bind (it) to your right hand.

7. Psalm 100 (101): for an enemy, when he says wicked things against you, read (it) over water and drink and fulfill the Psalm at once.

8. Psalm 109 (110): if you wish to get power and be honored by all, write and carry (it).

9. Psalm 142 (143): for a plague of hail, and (if) you are disturbed by enemies.

D3

1. For a struggle against fornication: Psalms 34 (35) and 36 (37).
2. For thoughts of lethargy: Psalms 24 (25) and 54 (55), 53 (54), 56 (57).
3. For a grudge: Psalm 30 (31).
4. For distraction:⁴³ Psalms 12 (13), 16 (17).
5. For catalepsy: Psalm 142 (143).
6. For a multitude of thoughts:⁴⁴ Psalms 55 (56), 60 (61).
7. For despair: Psalm 26 (27).
8. For blasphemy: Psalms 28 (29), 139 (140).
9. If you wish to confess to the Lord: Psalm 3.
10. When you clash with⁴⁵ your brother: Psalm 5.⁴⁶

46 An analogous use of this Psalm appears as an addition to a Greek treatise (with some Italian sections) on the beneficial properties of peony (Ἑρμηνεία τῆς πιονίας, along with a blessing by a priest and a prayer to accompany the root-cutting), in a sixteenth-century southern Italian manuscript, ὅταν ἔχῃς φόβον εἰς κρίσιν, βάλλον εἰς τὸ στόμα σου κοκκόνια τρία καὶ λέγε τρεῖς φορές 'τὰ ῥήματά μου' ὅλον καὶ οὐ φοβήσεται ("When you have fear about a judgment, place three seeds [of peony] in your mouth and say three times, 'My words,' the whole [Psalm], and he [sic] will not fear," ed. Pradel, *Griechische Gebete*, 31, from Venice, BNM cod. gr. II 163). The function of the Psalm is clear from the parallels now

D

11. όταν διώκησαι ὑπό τινος· ψαλμὸς ς'.
12. ἐὰν μακρύνηται σου ἡ θλίψις· ψαλμὸς ζ'.
13. ἐρρυσθῆναι ἐκ θλίψεως· ψαλμὸς θ'.
- 5v | 14. εἰς ἀσθενῆ ἀπ' ἐχρού· διάβασε ψαλμὸν ιβ'.
- 15 | 15. διὰ νὰ μὴν 'πάγη ἡ γυναῖκα μὲ ἄλλον ἄνδρα·
γράψον καὶ χώσον εἰς τὸ κατώφλιον τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς μὴ
γινωσκούσης· ψαλμὸς ιγ'.
16. όταν ὁδεύῃς εἰς<ς> στράτα καὶ δειλιᾷς· διάβασε
τὸν ψαλμὸν ιε'.
- 20 | 17. κατὰ ἐχρού πανταχοῦ καὶ μαρανεῖ αὐτόν·
ψαλμὸς ις'.
18. εἰς 'ξυπασμόν· γράψε καὶ βάσταζε ἀπάνω σου·
ψαλμὸς ιθ'· ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς παιδὶν μικρὸν όταν τὸ εὔρη τὸ
γλυκύ του, διάβασέ τονε ἀπάνω του.
- 25 | 19. ψαλμὸς κ'· διάβασέ τον καὶ θέλεις ἔχει<ν>
κάματον ὅλην τὴν ἡμέρα<ν>· ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς ὁδόν.
20. διὰ νὰ διώξης πᾶν κακὸν ἀπὸ τὸν οἶκόν<ν> σου,
λέγε ἑπτὰ φορὰς τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· ψαλμὸς κδ'.
21. εἰς ὁδὸν όταν φοβᾶσαι, λέγε· ψαλμὸς κε'.
- 30 | 22. εἰς δαιμονιζόμενον, εἰπέ εἰς τὸ ὠτίον αὐτοῦ ἐκ
τρίτου καὶ παύει τὸ δαιμόνιον· ψαλμὸς κζ'.
23. ἐὰν ἔστιν εἰς τὸν οἶκόν<ν> σου στοιχεῖον κακόν,
διάβασέ τον ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ φεύγει· ψαλμὸς λδ'.
24. ψαλμὸς μ'· ἐάν τινάς σε καταβάλῃ, γράψον εἰς
35 | τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ μάrane αὐτόν.
25. ψαλμὸς μα'· ἐὰν ἔχη μαγημένον, γράψον καὶ ἅς
τὸ κρατὴ εἰς τὸ βραχίον αὐτοῦ.
26. ψαλμὸς νε'· εἰς φυγὴν κακοῦ, λέγε.
27. ψαλμὸς νθ'· διὰ νὰ μὴ φοβήσῃ ἀπὸ τινά, λέγε.
- 40 | 28. ψαλμὸς ξβ'· εἰς κακοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνάγνωσε
καὶ μαρανεῖ αὐτούς.

12 μακρινετο' cod. 13 ἐρήστιν cod. 23 ησεπεδί cod.
24 διαβασε όταν cod. ante corr. 37 αὐτόν cod.

available, although Pradel (ibid. 115), after considering a distorted citation of Matt. 5:37 or "der Anfang einer Zaubersformel," had proposed emending μου to θεοῦ.

47 εἰς ἀσθενῆ ἀπ' ἐχρού, probably a reference to suspicion of poisoning or aggressive ritual techniques, such as that deployed in turn just below in D3 §17 (note especially μαρανεῖ, "destroy," "cause to wither").

48 A procedure for the same goal, involving the writing, sealing, and deposition of the wife's name at a blacksmith's forge, appears in the fifteenth-century Florence, BNL cod. Plut. 86.14, f. 27v, ed. Delatte, *Anecdota*, 625 with 654.

11. When you are persecuted by someone: Psalm 6.
12. If your affliction is prolonged: Psalm 7.
13. To be delivered from affliction: Psalm 9 (9–10).
14. For one (made) sick by an enemy:⁴⁷ repeat Psalm 12 (13).
15. So that your wife will not go off with another man:⁴⁸ write and bury at the threshold of the house, without her knowing: Psalm 13 (14).
16. When you are traveling on the road and you are afraid: repeat Psalm 15 (16).
17. Against an enemy anywhere, and it will destroy him: Psalm 16 (17).
18. For distress:⁴⁹ write and carry on you: Psalm 19 (20). Likewise too for a small child when his dear one finds him,⁵⁰ repeat it over him.
19. Psalm 20 (21): repeat it and you will have work for the whole day; likewise too for a journey.
20. To chase every evil thing from your house, speak seven times a day for seven days: Psalm 24 (25).
21. For a journey, when you are afraid, speak: Psalm 25 (26).
22. For a demoniac, speak into his ear three times, and the demon will yield: Psalm 27 (28).
23. If there is an evil demon in your house, repeat it for seven days, and it will flee: Psalm 34 (35).
24. Psalm 40 (41): if someone has brought you down, write (it) on his hands and destroy him!⁵¹
25. Psalm 41 (42): if one has been bewitched, write and let him keep it on his arm.
26. Psalm 55 (56): to put evil to flight, speak (it).
27. Psalm 59 (60): in order not to be afraid of anyone, speak (it).
28. Psalm 62 (63): for evil people, read (it) and it will destroy them.

49 'ξυπασμός, which appears also in the Byzantine calendar edited by A. Delatte, *CCAG* 10:152; for the sense cf. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, 12:152, 154 s.v. ξυπώ and ξυπάζω.

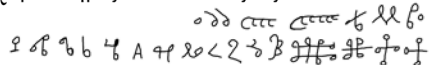
50 For this euphemism for epilepsy, see the note on PV §5 above.

51 A difficult task, one would think; a relatively easy emendation, εἰς τὰς χεῖρας (σ)αυτοῦ, would yield "write it on *your* hands and efface it," for which compare the crushing of wax as an analogue for an enemy in D2 §3 above.

D4

- 6r 1. εἰς κλέπτην ἵνα φανερωθῇ· κόψον τὸ ἀπαλὸν τοῦ
ψωμίου καὶ γράψον εἰς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα
ταῦτα· "ἀραφὰ ἐξαστραφὰ ἀφαγὰ ἐξναφὰ," καὶ δὸς
φαγεῖν οὓς ὑποψίαν ἔχεις· καὶ οὐ μὴ ἰσχύσωσιν τοῦ
5 φαγεῖν ἕως οὗ φανερώσιν αὐτά.
2. περὶ πόνον κεφαλῆς καὶ περὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς
κεφαλῆς καὶ ὁποῖος ἰδρώνει πολλὰ καὶ εἰς πιτυρίδα· τὸ
στομάχιν ἔσμιγέ το μετὰ τὸ λάδι ὅπου πονεῖ τὸ κεφάλι του
καὶ ἄλειφέ το· καὶ ὅπου πέπτουν τὰ μάλιά του, ἄλειφέ
10 τον καλαμινθίου τὸ ζουμίν· ἄλειφε τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ
χάνεται ἡ πιτυρίδα.
3. εἰς πόνον κεφαλῆς καὶ πρίσμα σάρκας καὶ περὶ
ὀφθαλμοῦ· τῆς λυγείας τὰ φύλλα ν' αὐτὰ κοπανίσῃς, νὰ
ἀλείψῃς τὴν κεφαλὴν ὅπου πονεῖ· καὶ ὅπου πρίσκεται νὰ
15 ἀλείψῃς τὴν σάρκα του· εἰ δὲ κάψῃς τὰ φύλλα της, ὁ
καπνὸς διώκει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀπὸ το<ν>.

D5

1. εἰς ἀσθένειαν σώματος καὶ κεφαλῆς· ψαλμὸς γ'
"κύριε τί ἐπληθύνθησαν." γράψε ἐτοῦτον τὸν ψαλμὸν
ἕως ὅπου λέγει "καὶ ὑψών τὴν κεφαλὴν μου" καὶ ἐτοῦτες
τὲς χαρακτῆρες καὶ δέσε τες εἰς τὸ κούτελόν του.
5 
ἡ διάβασε τὸν ἀνωθεν ψαλμὸν ὅλον εἰς λάδι
καθαρὸν καὶ γράψε τὲς χαρακτῆρες εἰς πινακίδι ἀφόριον
καὶ λῦσέ τες μετὰ τὸ ἀνθελάδι μαζώνοντάς το καὶ ἄλειψε
10 τὸν ἀσθενῆ καὶ ὑγιαίνει.
2. εἰς ἀρρωστίαν· γράψε τὲς χαρακτῆρες ἐτοῦτες εἰς
6v τζυκάλιν καινούργιον καὶ | λῦσέ το νερῶ καθαρίω καὶ
διάβασε τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐτοῦτον φορὰς ἑπτὰ τὴν κάθεν

D5,2 Ps. 3:2 3 Ps. 3:4

D5,2 ἐπληθύνθησαν cod. 12 κερνούγιω cod.

52 For the names cf. *PGM* XIII.778–80, *σαρ αφαρα αραφαι αβρααρμ αραφα αβρααχ περταωμηχ ακμηχ ιαω ουεη ιαω ουε ιουι αηωειου ιαω*. In the present text *ἀφαγὰ* (so accented in cod.) recalls *ἄφαγα*, that is, a form of *ἄφαγος*, "not eating," which is precisely the quality that the procedure hopes to impart to the culprit.

53 The syntax of the Greek is ambiguous: *αὐτά* might be taken as the object of *φανερώσιν*, "until they (the suspects) reveal them (the stolen articles)," or as the subject, the antecedent being most likely the bits of bread and inscribed text. D includes at f. 4r another, analogous procedure for the identification of a thief via Ps. 9 (10):28, which is worth printing here: *λαβὼν προσφορὰν ἀπροσκόμι<σ>τον γράφον*

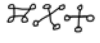
D4

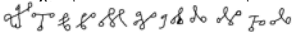
1. For a thief, that he be revealed: cut (out) the soft part of a loaf of bread and write on the outside these names, "arapha exastrapha aphaga exnapha,"⁵² and give it to eat to those whom you suspect. They will not be able to eat until they reveal them.⁵³
2. Regarding headache and the hairs of the head, and one who sheds a lot of hair, and for dandruff: rub the stomach with oil, the stomach of one whose head aches, and anoint it; and as for one whose hair is falling out, anoint him with catmint juice; anoint the head, and dandruff is removed.
3. For headache and lacerations of the flesh, and regarding snakes: you should bray withy leaves and anoint the head of one whose head aches; and as for one who has lacerations, you should anoint his flesh. If you burn the leaves, the smoke chases snakes away.

D5

1. For sickness of the body and head: Psalm 3, "Lord, why have they been multiplied" (v. 2). Write this Psalm through where it says "and raising my head aloft" (v. 4) and these characters and bind them to his forehead: (*signs*).
Or repeat the above Psalm in its entirety over pure oil and write the characters on an unused tablet and dissolve them with floral oil, gathering it up, and anoint the sick person and he will get well.
2. For sickness: write these characters on a newly made vessel and dissolve it with pure water and repeat this Psalm seven times each day, seven times, and put it

εἰς τὸ γύρον της "οὐ ἀρὰς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ γέμει καὶ πικρίας καὶ δόλου, ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ κόπος καὶ πόνος," καὶ κατακόψας δὸς φαγεῖν τοῖς ὑπόπταις κατὰ νηστικά οὓς ἔχεις ὑποψίαν ("Take an unoffered prosphora and write around its circumference, 'Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness and deceit, and beneath his tongue toil and pain,' and cut it up and give it to the suspects while they are fasting, the ones of whom you have suspicion"). Variants of the latter appear also in two manuscripts of the fifteenth century: Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2315, f. 240v (ed. Legrand, *Bibliothèque*, 10) and Bologna, BU cod. 3632, f. 361v (ed. Delatte, *Anecdota*, 609). For other Byzantine ritual procedures with similar goals see B1 §§22–23 with commentary.

ἡμέραν ἑπτὰ φορές καὶ βάλε το νὰ ἀστρονομῆται ἕως τὲς
 15 ἑπτὰ ἡμέρες, νηστεύοντας καὶ ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἀπὸ πασχαλι-
 νό<ν>, καὶ σῶσον τὰς ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. πλῦνε τὸν ἀσθενὴ μ'
 ἐκεῖνο τὸ νερό<ν> καὶ ὑγιαίνει. 

3. ὁ ψαλμὸς ζ' "κύριε ὁ θεός μου ἐπὶ σοὶ ἠλπισα-
 σῶσόν με" διὰ ἐκείνους ὅπου πέφτουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ γλυκοῦ.
 20 εἰπὲ τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐτοῦτον εἰς τὸ ἀφτὶ τοῦ ἀσθενὴ ὅταν
 τόνε πιάσῃ τῆς καρδίας του. καὶ γράψῃ τον μὲ τοῦτες τὲς
 χαρακτῆρες καὶ χῶσέ τον εἰς τὲς γωνίες τοῦ σπιτίου καὶ
 θέλει εἶναι τὸ σπῖτι ἐκεῖνο εὐτυχισμένο<ν>. καὶ θυμιάσέ
 το μὲ θυμιάματα μυριστικά. 

4. ψαλμὸς κη' "ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ υἱοὶ θεοῦ" διὰ νὰ
 χαλάσῃς μαγικά καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια. διάβασε ἐτοῦτον τὸν
 ψαλμὸν ἑπτὰ φορές καὶ 'δὲ θέλει 'μφορέσῃ ὁ μάντις ἢ ὁ
 μάγος νὰ σου κάμῃ βλάβη. καὶ ἂν ἐλλάχῃς μέσον τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν σου, ὁλονῶν ἐλεημονᾶσαι καὶ 'δὲν ἡμποροῦσι νὰ
 30 σε βλάψουσιν.

5. ὁ ψαλμὸς κε' "κρίνόν με κύριε ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν ἀκακίᾳ
 μου ἐπορεύθην" ἕτερος διὰ γητίες καὶ ἀποδέματα μαγικά.
 διάβασε καὶ αὐτὸν φορές ἑπτὰ καὶ 'δὲ θέλουσι δυνηθῇ-
 <ναι> νὰ σε βλάψουν.

6. ψαλμὸς νζ' "εἰ ἀληθῶς ἄρα δικαιοσύνην λαλεῖτε;
 35 εὐθεῖα" εἰς τὴν ὥραν τοῦ Ἡλίου, Ἡλίου ἢ τῆς Ἀφροδί-
 τῆς ἢ Σελήνης εἰς τὸν Αἰγόκερων ἢ Δίδυμον ἢ Τοξότην.

7. ὅταν θέλῃς νὰ ἀποδέσῃς ὄφιν καὶ κάθε συρ-
 νάμενον καὶ θηρίον τετράπουν· ὅταν τὸ ἴδῃς, εἰπὲ "ἐπὶ
 40 ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ καὶ καταπατήσεις λέον-
 τα καὶ δράκοντα." καὶ τὸ θηρίον μένει ὡσάν ψόφιο<ν>.

M

230v 1. ὁ δεκατοῦντος ψαλμὸς τοῦ Δαυὶδ εἶναι πάννυ
 ὠφελίμος ἐὰν ἀγαπᾷς νὰ εἶσαι πάντοτε χαρούμενος.

18–19 Ps. 7:2 25 Ps. 28:1 31–32 Ps. 25:1 35–36 Ps.
 57:2 39–41 Ps. 90:13

19 πεύ^τ cod. | τὸ γλύτου cod. 20 αὐτῇ cod. 23 εὐτυ-
 corr. ex εὐτῇ- cod. 27 ψαλμὸν corr. ex ψαλμομὸν cod.
 35 δικαιοσύνην] -ην ex corr. 36 ευθείας cod.

54 ἀστρονομῆται, that is, to receive the emanations
 supposed to issue from celestial bodies, imbuing the liquid
 with further medicinal power; the process is also
 recommended in N §15, and e.g., Delatte, *Anecdota*, 612 for
 the instruments in a procedure to release the binding of a
 man's sexual potency (from the fifteenth-century Bologna,
 BU cod. 3632, f. 362v).

55 Following my conjecture ἀπὸ τοῦ γλυκοῦ for the
 manuscript ἀπὸ τὸ γλύτου, based on parallels for the former

(out) to catch the stars⁵⁴ through the seven days, with
 the sick man also observing an Easter fast, and observe
 the seven days. Wash the sick man with that water, and
 he will get well. (*signs*).

3. Psalm 7, "Lord, my God, in you I have hoped,
 save me" (v. 2), is for those who faint from the dear
 one.⁵⁵ Speak this Psalm in the ear of the sick person
 when it takes hold of his heart. Write it also with these
 characters and bury it in the corners of the house, and
 that house will be made prosperous. Fumigate it also
 with fragrant fumigants. (*signs*).

4. Psalm 28 (29), "Offer to the Lord, sons of God"
 (v. 1), is for dispelling magic and the like. Repeat this
 Psalm seven times, and the sorcerer or magician will
 not be able to do you harm. If you happen to be
 surrounded by your enemies, they will all be at your
 mercy and they will not be able to harm you.

5. Psalm 25 (26), "Judge me, Lord, for I have
 walked in my innocence" (v. 1), is another for enchant-
 ments and magical bindings. Repeat it too seven times,
 and they will not be able to harm you.

6. Psalm 57 (58), "Do you truly speak justice?
 Fairly..." (v. 2), at the hour of the Sun, when the Sun or
 Venus or the Moon is in (the sign of) Capricorn or
 Gemini or Sagittarius.⁵⁶

7. When you wish to bind a snake, and any reptile
 and four-legged animal: when you see it, say, "On asp
 and basilisk you will tread, and you will trample lion
 and serpent" (Psalm 90 [91]:13), and the animal will
 stay put as if dead.

M

1. The seventeenth (18th) Psalm of David is very
 useful if you want always to have favor: read the same

euphemism (see PV §5 and D3 §18 above). Alternatively,
 γλύτου might be explained as an aphairctic form of ἐγλύτου,
 from a hypothetical ἐγλύτης (ἐκλύτης), "the weakener," but
 the latter is to my knowledge unattested.

56 The indication has been omitted, but given the content
 of the Psalm it is likely to have been similar to the previous
 two prescriptions.

S

- 55v 1. εἰς ἀφάνειαν ἐτοιμάσαι. ὁ ψαλμὸς ε' ὡς περιέχει, κεφάλιον ε'. "τὰ ῥήματά μου..."...παρὰ θεοῦ εἰς ὃ ἐπιθυμᾷς.
2. εἰς μεγιστάνας οἱ ψαλμοὶ οὗτοι· κεφάλιον ζ' ὅταν
5 θέλῃς νὰ σέβῃς εἰς βασιλέα... "κύριε ὁ θεὸς μου, ἐπὶ σὲ
56r ἠλπισα." | ἕτερος ψαλμὸς κεφάλιον η' "κύριε κύριος
ἡμῶν..." ... "ἕως πότε κύριε ἐπιλήσῃ μου εἰς τέλος;"
3. ἕτερον παρόμοιον εἰς φόβον· ψαλμὸς κεφάλιον ις'
"φύλαξόν με κύριε..."...καὶ μὴ φοβοῦ.
- 10 4. εἰς πρᾶγμα ὅπου χάσῃς καὶ θέλῃς μαθεῖν τὸν
κλέπτην· νὰ λέγῃς τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐτοῦτον κεφάλαιον 16
"εἰσάκουσον κύριε δικαιοσύνης μου." ὅταν χάσῃς
τίποτας, γράψῃς τὰ ὀνόματα ὅπου ἔχεις ὑποψίαν, ἔπειτα
σύρε ἔπαρε ἀπὸ τὰ τζουκαλᾶ τὰ χέρια χῶμα καὶ διάβασε
15 τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐπτὰ φορές. τύλιξε πᾶν χαρτὶ μὲ ὀλίγον
πηλὸν ἀπ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ χῶμα καὶ βάνε καὶ τὸ καθενὸς τὸ
56v ὄνομα καὶ ἃς εἶναι τὰ χαρτῖα | ἰσόζυγα καὶ ἃς σταθοῦν.
καὶ τότε ἔπαρον νερόν ἀπὸ τόπον ὅπου 'δὲν θεωρεῖ ὁ
ἥλιος καὶ ὅταν 'παίρῃς τὸ νερόν νὰ μὴ λαλήσῃς μὲ
20 κανέναν. καὶ τότε βάλῃς τὰ χαρτῖα ἐκεῖνα ὅλα νὰ τὰ
βυθίσῃς εἰς τὸ νερόν μέσα καὶ κοίταζε καλά. καὶ ὅποιον
χαρτὶ ἐκβῇ πρῶτα ἀπὸ τὸν νερόν καὶ ἔλθῃ ἀπάνου,
ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ κλέπτης. ὁμοίως ἔχοι πρῶτα χαρτῖα
γραμμμένα τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα "μάρανα σάρβα· ὁ ἐσθίων
25 ἄρτον μου ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πτερνισμόν."

S,2 Ps. 5:2 5–6 Ps. 7:2 (soi) 6–7 Ps. 8:2 7 Ps. 12:2 9 Ps.
15:2 12 Ps. 16:1 24–25 Ps. 40:10 (ἄρτους)

S,1 εἰς <τὸ> Ḥangin | ε' ὡς conieci : ἕως Ḥangin 5 κύριε —
μου supplevi : om. in ellips. Ḥangin 7 ἕως πότε supplevi :
om. in ellips. Ḥangin | ἐπιλύσης Ḥangin 14 τζουκαλᾶ cod. :
τζουκάλα Ḥangin | χαίρια cod. : χείρια Ḥangin 21 κίταζε
cod., Ḥangin 22 ἀπάνω corr. Ḥangin 23 ἔχοι cod. : ἔχει
Ḥangin

58 For other ritual procedures for the revelation of thieves see the note on D4 §1 above. The procedure matches one given by the *Sefer shimmush tehillim* tradition for Ps. 16 in the Hebrew text (not 17): see the introduction.

59 ἀπὸ τὰ τζουκαλᾶ χέρια χῶμα, cf. MTKG 3 no. 81 f. 1a.8–15 and the Western *Sefer shimmush tehillim* in Rebiger, *Sefer* §19, p. 95 (rec. O1531a), which call for clay or dirt "from the hand of a potter," prescribing the same Psalm and a very similar procedure.

S

1. To procure invisibility: Psalm 5, in its entirety, number 5, "My words..." (v. 2)... from God for what you desire.

2. These Psalms are for (use on) powerful men: number 7, when you wish to pay court to a king... "Lord my God, in you I have hoped" (v. 2). Another Psalm, number 8, "Lord, our Lord..." (v. 2) ... (Another Psalm, number 12 [13]) ... "How long, Lord, will you forget me until the end?" (v. 2).

3. Another similar (procedure) for fear: Psalm number 16 (*sic*), "Protect me, Lord..." (Psalm 15 [16]:2) ... and fear not.

4. For something that you have lost and you wish to know the thief: speak this Psalm, number 16 (17), "Hear, Lord, my justice" (v. 1).⁵⁸ When you lose something, write the names of those whom you suspect, then go take dirt from the hands of a potter⁵⁹ and repeat the Psalm seven times. Roll up every piece of paper with a little mud from that dirt, and put also each one's name (on a piece of paper), and let the pieces of paper be of the same weight, and let them stand. Then take water from a place that sunlight does not see, and when you take the water, do not speak with anyone. Then place all those pieces of paper so as to sink them in the water, and watch carefully. Whichever piece of paper leaves the water first and comes upwards, that one is the thief. Also let the pieces of paper first have these words written on them, "*Marana sarba*. The one who ate my bread has gravely supplanted me."⁶⁰

60 The latter, Greek portion is from Ps. 40 (41):10. Of the first two words, *marana* (μάρανα, cod.) recalls the Aramaic for "our Lord," cf. 1 Cor. 16:22; *sarba* may be a nonce-coinage, but there is an Aramaic root *srb*, "contradict," which could conceivably fit the context. This addition (both the Psalm and the preceding words) is not found in the parallels for the procedure in the Jewish tradition.

S

57r | 5. ἄλλο δὲ πάλιν ὅταν δοκῇς τινὸς δανειακόν... |
 57v "ὡς εἰ φλόξ κατακαύσαι ὄρη."
 6. καὶ νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἢ ἀρχιερεὺς ἢ
 ἱερεὺς...εἰς ῥῶσιν. (*signs*).
 30 7. περὶ πλουτισμοῦ· ὅπου θέλει νὰ πλουτήσῃ...
 χαρὰν καὶ εὐφροσύνην.
 8. ψαλμὸς κεφάλιον κς' εἰς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, νὰ λῆς τὸν
 58r ψαλμὸν ἐτοῦτον "κύριος φωτισμός μου..."|... "στῶμεν
 58v καλῶς. ὕψιστε ἀθάνατε Ἀδωναὶ Ἐλὶ Σαβαώθ..."... | καὶ
 35 βᾶστα εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν χέριν.
 9. εἰς κλύδωνα θαλάσσης· νὰ διαβάσῃς τὸν ψαλμὸν
 ἐτοῦτον κεφάλιον ξδ' "σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος ὁ θεὸς ἐν Σιών."
 νὰ τὸ διαβάσῃς, εἰ δὲ καὶ 'δὲν ἐξέυρῃς, γράψον αὐτὸν καὶ
 βᾶσταζε καὶ τὴν κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρα<ν>, εἴτα πᾶσε
 40 ἐλαιόλαδον καὶ ἄγωμεν εἰς τὴν πρύμνην ἢ πῶραν τοῦ
 πλοίου καὶ χύσῃς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑπτὰ σταλαγματίες
 καὶ εἰπὲ ταῦτα καὶ κάμῃς σημεῖον σταυροῦ ὑγρὸν μετὰ
 Χριστοῦ λέγων "σιώπασον φίμῃσον ὁ κύριος" καὶ τὰ
 λοιπά.
 45 10. ἕτερον· διάβασον καὶ κεφάλιον 68, ψαλμὸν
 "σῶσόν με ὁ θεὸς μου ὅτι εἰσῆλθοσαν ὕδατα ἕως ψυχῆς
 μου," "στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν."
 59r | 11. ψαλμὸς κεφάλιον 67 εἰς ταξίδι· ὅταν βουλῇσῃ
 50 νὰ ὑπάγῃς εἰς ἄλλον κόσμον...νὰ γυρεύσῃς μαζί μὲ τὸν
 ψαλμὸν. (*signs*).
 59v | 12. ψαλμὸς 69· "ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου..."... |
 60r ὅ τι ἐπιθυμᾷς χωρὶς φόβου.

27 Ps. 82:15 33 Ps. 26:1 37 Ps. 64:2 46–47 Ps. 68:2
 52 Ps. 69:2

27 ὡς supplevi : om. in ellipsis. Šangin | εἰ φλόξ κατακαύσαι
 correxi : φλόξει κατακαύσει Šangin 32 λὲς Šangin
 34 Ἀδοῦνε cod., Šangin 37 ὦ Šangin 40 <τὴν> πῶραν
 Šangin 43 ἔλεγον Šangin | φίμῃσον conieci (φιμίζω, cf.
 φιμώω) : φήμῃσον Šangin 45 ψαλμὸν corr. Šangin : ψαλμὸς
 cod. 46 ὦ Šangin 47 στῶμεν¹ — θεοῦ resolvi : ς μ κ λ ς μ μ
 τ φ β θῦ cod., Šangin 53 χωρὶς φόβον conieci : χωρὶς
 ἀφόβων Šangin

61 It is tempting to link ἀρχιερεὺς to a distant reflex of a Jewish tradition, but the term is used of Christian ecclesiastics in paraliturgical Byzantine texts of a similar register, such as charters (*LBG* 209a s.v. ἀρχιερέος).

62 Apparently the second text with the liturgical formula and invocation, which may have begun with more of the first or another Psalm, was recommended for inscription as an amulet.

5. Yet another, for when you expect someone's loan... "As a flame would burn down mountains" (Psalm 82 [83]:15).

6. And let either an archpriest⁶¹ or a priest be in the church...for strength. (*signs*).

7. For wealth: whoever wishes to become wealthy...joy and good cheer.

8. Psalm number 26 (27) is for enemies, you should speak this Psalm, "The Lord is my light..." (v. 1) ... "...let us stand in good order. Most high, immortal Adōnai Eli Sabaōth..." and carry it on your right hand.⁶²

9. For rough seas: you should speak this Psalm, number 64 (65), "A hymn befits you, God, in Zion" (v. 2). You should repeat it, and if you are not successful, write and carry it and the character below, then take olive oil and go to the stern or prow of the boat and pour seven drops into the sea and say these (words) and make a sign of the cross with the liquid, saying with Christ, "Silence and muzzle, Lord," and so on.⁶³


10. Another: repeat also number 68 (69), the Psalm "Save me, my God, for the waters have converged up to my soul" (v.2), (and) "Let us stand in good order, let us stand with fear of God, amen amen."

11. Psalm number 67 (68) is for an expedition, when you wish to go to another land... you should encircle (these signs) with the Psalm. (*signs*).

12. Psalm 69 (70), "God, to my help..." (v. 2)... whatever you desire, without fear.

63 Not in the Psalms or any Byzantine liturgical text known to me; φῖμῃσον recalls the imperative φῖμωσον, common in the language of late ancient inscribed tablets seeking the ritual "muzzling" of enemies, e.g., *SEG* 41 no. 1597.26–27 and 52 no. 1877 bis.

A

- 108r 1. εἰς ἐχθρόν σου· ψαλμὸς 66 “ὁ θεὸς οἰκτιρήσαι”
καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· διάβασέ τον ἀπάνω εἰς νερόν καὶ χύσέ το εἰς
τὴν πόρτα<ν> του· ὁμῶς γράψε καὶ τὰ κάτωθεν γράμ-
ματα καὶ βάστα ἀπάνω σου· $\bar{m} \bar{\tau} \bar{\tau} \bar{\tau} \bar{\zeta} \bar{m} \bar{\alpha} \bar{n}$. νὰ καὶ τὰ
5 στοιχεῖα· 
2. νὰ διώξης δαίμονα ἀπὸ λόγου σου· ψαλμὸς 79 “ὁ
ποιμαίνων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· γράψε τον καὶ
βάστα τον ἀπάνω σου· διώκονται τὰ δαιμόνια.
3. εἰς πόνον βουζίου· ψαλμὸς 15· ἔπαρον ἀγιασμὸν
10 τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανίων καὶ διάβασε τὸν ψαλμὸν καὶ
ἄλειψον τὸ βυζιον καὶ ὑγιαίνει.
4. εἰς καρδιόποννον, κεφαλόποννον, καὶ φάρμακον·
ψαλμὸς 146· γράψε τὸν αὐτὸν ψαλμὸν καὶ βάστα τον
ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν κορυφὸν σου· ὑγιαίνει ἀπὸ ὅλα.
- 15 5. εἰς καράβιν, ἂν ὑπέχη κακοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἢ
κουρσάρι· ψαλμὸς 123 “εἰ μὴ ὅτι κύριος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν” καὶ
τὰ ἐξῆς· τὸν αὐτὸν ψαλμὸν ἂν εἶναι ἀφορεσμένος ἢ
φονέας ἢ κλέπτης καὶ κινδυνεύη νὰ χαθῇ, διάβασε τὸν
αὐτὸν ψαλμὸν φορὲς ἑπτὰ ἀπάνω εἰς νερόν καὶ ῥάνε τὸ
20 καράβιν καὶ παύει ἢ θάλασσα· ἐὰ<ν> σὲ κυνηγὸν ἢ κορ-
σάρι, διάβασε τὸν ψαλμὸν κατὰ πρόσωπα φορὲς ἑπτὰ
108v καὶ | ἄς παρακαλοῦν τὸν θεόν· καὶ αἶρει βοήθειαν.
6. νὰ θεμελιώσης οἶκον· ψαλμὸς 73· “ἵνα τί ὁ θεὸς
ἀπώσω εἰς τέλος” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· διὰ πνεῦμα πονηρὸν
25 διάβασε τε<ν> ψαλμὸν ἀπάνω εἰς νερόν φορὲς ἑπτὰ καὶ
ῥάνε τὸν τόπον καὶ θεμελίωσε οἶκον ἢ ἄλλον.

A,1 Ps. 66:2 6–7 Ps. 79:2 16 Ps. 123:1 23–24 Ps. 73:1
(ἀπ. ὁ θ.)

A,4 βάστα <τα> Delatte | να και τα στιχῶα cod. : νὰ
ἀπώσης τὰ στοιχεῖα corr. Delatte 5 signa om. Delatte
6 δέμονα cod. : δαιμόνια Delatte 9 ιε' Delatte | ἅγι ἄζμον
cod. 14 κοριφόν cod. : κορυφὴν Delatte | ἐγιένι cod.
15 ηπύχι cod. : ἐπέχη Delatte 17 ἢ— 19 ψαλμὸν om.
Delatte 20 καράβι Delatte | ἐὰν σὲ Delatte | ἢ cod. : καὶ
Delatte | κουρσάρι Delatte 22 καὶ ἐρῇ cod. : περὶ Delatte
23 7γ cod.

64 Apparently the presence of an impious or criminal passenger is thought to provoke a storm, probably as a species of divine wrath of the sort visited on Jonah and his shipmates, which the procedure is intended to pacify. The participle ἀφορεσμένος is particularly suggestive, with its

A

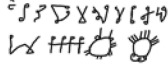
1. For your enemy: Psalm 66 (67), “God, have pity,” and the rest. Repeat it over water and pour it out at his door. Likewise write (it) also, and the letters below, and carry on you: *m t t t z m a n*. Let there (be also) the letters: (*signs*).
2. To make a demon flee from your speech: Psalm 79 (80), “Shepherd of Israel,” and the rest. Write it and carry it on you: the demons will be made to flee.
3. For breast pain: Psalm 16 (17). Take sacrament from the holy mysteries and repeat the Psalm and anoint the breast and it will heal.
4. For pain in the heart, pain in the head, and poison: Psalm 146 (147). Write the same Psalm and carry it on your head: it will heal from all (ills).
5. For a ship, if it harbors evil men, or a corsair: Psalm 123 (124), “If the Lord were not among us,” and the rest. The same Psalm, if there is an exile or murderer or thief (on board) and (the ship) is in danger of being destroyed, repeat the same Psalm seven times over water and sprinkle the boat, and the sea will calm.⁶⁴ If against a skiff or a corsair, repeat the Psalm facing (it) seven times, and let them beseech God, and (the user) will get help.
6. To lay the foundation of a house: Psalm 73 (74), “Why, God, have you cast (us) out unto the end,” and the rest. On account of an evil spirit, repeat the Psalm over water seven times and sprinkle the place and lay the foundation for the house or other (structure).⁶⁵

additional connotations in Byzantine Greek of excommunication and anathema (Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, 3:384–85 s.v. ἀφορίζω).
65 The procedure seems to be meant as a prophylactic against the scenario addressed by PV §7, to rid the building site of any resident demon before the house is built.

N

5r 1. περὶ νὰ ἐξολοθρεύσης τὸν ἐχθρόν σου· γράψον
τὰς κάτωθεν χαρακτήρας ἀπάνου εἰς μολύβι καὶ παρά-
χωσ' το εἰς τὸ κατώφλιο καὶ νὰ τὸ διασκελίσῃ ὥρα τοῦ
Κρόνου καὶ γράψον α<ὕ>τὰ ἡμέρα σαββάτῳ ὥρα

fig. 1 πρώτη τοῦ Ἄρεως·



2. ἐὰν θέλῃς νὰ κάμῃς νὰ μισηθοῦσιν δύο ἄνθρωποι
5v ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον, ποιήσον οὕτως· ἔπα|<ρε> κρίθινο ἀλεύρι
10 καὶ ζύμωσον ἐπτὰ ψωμόπουλα καὶ γράψον τὰς κάτωθεν
βούλλας ἀπὸ μία καὶ τὰ ὀνόματά τους καὶ δώσέ τα σκύ-
λους ἀρσενικοὺς νὰ τὰ χᾶν, νὰ μισηθοῦσιν· (within
fig. 2 seals) ἀδαχ· τηλατους, σουλα· αρ· χουκ· μη· δηω δηω·
χουβαλ· ακουμ· αλαχακουμ· χουτζατζα· σαβασαβα·
15 χουημ· αλαχα·λαχ· τον.

6r | 3. εἰς ἀγάπην γυναικός· “ὥσάν ἀγαπάει τὸ μέλι
σιτομέλι 'σω βοτάνι, ἔτzi νὰ ἀγαπήσῃ καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τὴν
δεῖνα· καὶ ὥσάν ἀγαποῦν τὰ παλλικάρια τὰ ὅμορφα
κορίτζια, ἔτzi νὰ ἀγαπήῃ ὁ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα· καὶ ὥσάν
20 τρέχουν οἱ μεθυστάδες 'ς τὸ καλὸ κρασί, ἔτzi νὰ τρέχῃ
καὶ ἡ δεῖνα πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα.”



τὸ ὄνομά του τὸ ὄνομά της.

6v | 4. διὰ θερμῖ, ὀρμπονία, νόσον, ῥίγον, πυρετόν, καὶ
κακῶν ἀπιλογόν· “ἔβγα ἀπὸ τὸν δ<οὕλ>ον τοῦ θεοῦ
25 τόνδε ὅτι ἔχει φυλακτήρια, σκέπουν φυλάπτουν αὐτὸν

N,2 ἀπάνω ὤangin | παράχωσέ ὤangin 3 δρασκελήση cod.
: παρασκευάσης ὤangin 8 μισηθῶσιν ὤangin | ἄνθρωπον
ὤangin 9 ἔπα<ρε> correxi : ἐπὶ ὤangin 12 ταχᾶν
ὤangin | μισηθῶσιν ὤangin 16 ἀγαπᾶ ἡ ὤangin
23 θερμῆ<ς> ὤangin | ὀρμπονίαν ὤangin

66 For similar recipes involving ritual inscription and deposition see PV §16 above and Delatte, *Anecdota*, 503 and 575. For Byzantine ritual procedures for aggressive aims in general see Zellmann-Rohrer, “Incantations,” 97–132.

67 Compare the text edited from the fifteenth-century Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 144v, in Delatte, *Anecdota*, 456, which seeks to make a man hate (μισέω) his wife. The procedure includes the deposition of a ritual object in a grave, along with the expression of the analogous wish that the couple be separated as the deceased has been separated from this world.

68 No close parallels for the procedure are known to me. A general comparandum can be found in a procedure presented in two versions in the same fifteenth-century manuscript, Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, ff. 40v and 159v, ed.

N

1. For destroying your enemy:⁶⁶ write the signs below on lead and bury it at (his) threshold and let him step over it at the hour of Jupiter, and write them on Saturday in the first hour of Ares: (signs [fig. 1]).

2. If you wish to make two people hate each other, do as follows.⁶⁷ Take barley flour and make seven small morsels of bread and write the seals below, one by one, and their names, and give them to male dogs to eat; they will hate each other. (within seals [fig. 2]:) *adach tēlatous soula ar chouk mē dēō dēō choubal akoum alachakoum choutzatza sabasaba chouēm alacha lach ton*.

3. For the love of a woman.⁶⁸ “As a honeybee loves the honey in a plant, so too may so-and-so (male) love so-and-so (female). And as boys love pretty⁶⁹ girls, so may so-and-so (male) love so-and-so (female). And as drunkards run to good wine, so may so-and-so (female) run to so-and-so (male).” (drawing) (labels, at left:) his name; (at right:) her name.

4. For fever, joint pain, sickness, chills, ague, and a defense against evils.⁷⁰ “Come out of the servant of

Delatte, *Anecdota*, 447 and 466, in which a sign (σημεῖον) is to be written on an egg with an additional text expressing the wish that the female target, whose name is also written on the egg, burn in love for the user as the egg is heated by hot ashes or a fire. No instructions for the subsequent disposition of the labeled drawing are given in the present procedure, but a similar scenario, meant by analogy to kindle the passions of both parties, is at least possible. On erotic magic in Byzantine practice see Zellmann-Rohrer, “Incantations,” 52–96.

69 ὁμορφα, for εὐμορφα: on the orthography see Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, 6:337 s.v. εὐμορφος.

70 κακῶν ἀπιλογος: on the spelling with ἀπι- for ἀπο-, see Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, 3:69 s.v. ἀπόλογος.

N

(within seal, outer ring) Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. ὁ Χριστὸς βασιλεύει. ὁ Χριστὸς νικᾷ. ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ πᾶσα κακὸ σκέπει καὶ διαφυλάττει. (within seal, inner ring)
60 μνήσθητι κύριε τὴν προσευχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου καὶ συγχώρησον. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ.

10. περὶ τίμη καὶ ἀγάπη. "εἰσάκουσον ὁ θεὸς τῆς
9r δεήσεώς | μου." γράψε το εἰς λεῖψιν τῆς σελήνης ἡμέρα σαββάτω ἢ τρίτῃ ὥρα α' τῆς ἡμέρας, μὲ τὲς χαρακτῆρες
65 εἰς χαρτὶ ἄσπρο μὲ βαρτζὶ ἄσπρο ἢ μὲ κρόκον καὶ μόσ-
fig. 4 χον. (at corners of seal) Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. (within seal) Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. μγ. ο. ρ. πφανούς. σηώς. αὐτό. προερετετημη καὶ πρὸς τὸν δούλόν σου λύτρωσον Κώστα.

9v | 11. "σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος ὁ θεὸς ἐν Σιών" εἶναι ὠφέ-
λιμος εἰς κρίσπον, εἰς κλυδωνισμόν θαλάσσης, καὶ 'ς
fig. 5 σκληρίαν. γράψε το ἡμέρα παρασκευῇ ὥρα πρώτη, βάστα το σῆμά σου. (at corners of seal) Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. (within seal) Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. "ὀφθαλμοὶ
75 κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους, ὦτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν· κύριος βοηθὸς αὐτοῦ."

10r | 12. "ἀλ<α>λάξατε τῷ κυρίῳ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ" εἶναι ὠφέλιμος εἰς κριτήρια. γράψον τὲς χαρακτῆρες καὶ
fig. 6 βάστα ἀπάνου καὶ οὐ φοβᾶσαι, ἡμέρα κυριακῇ ὥρα πρώτη. (at corners of seal) Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. (within seal, outer ring) Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. "ἄρατε
πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης." (within seal, inner

62–63 Ps. 60:2 70 Ps. 64:2 74–75 ὀφθαλμοὶ — αὐτῶν Ps. 33:16 (καὶ ὦτα) 75–76 κύριος — αὐτοῦ cf. Ps. 27:7 77 Ps. 65:1 81–83 ἄρατε — δόξης Ps. 23:7

73 τὸ Šangin 79 παρασκευῇ Šangin

74 βαρτζί, for βερτζί, on which see Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, 4:100 s.v. 1 and 9:405 (with variant βαρζί), "ρόδινο, κόκκινο χρώμα," comparing Italian *verzino*. The qualification "white" (ἄσπρο) may indicate that βαρτζί stands here generically for a pigment, despite its etymology.

75 κρίσπος, best taken as a variant of γρίπος, on which see Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, 4:380 s.v., spelled also γρίπος; cf. also *LBG* 330b s.v. γρίπος; for the addition of medial σ cf. εἶστε for εἶτα in §15 below.

76 For the inscription of Psalm verses or paraphrases thereof on lead seals of the eighth century, see Glynias, "Prayerful Iconoclasts," esp. 68, where verses so attested are conveniently tabulated.

77 This same verse appears, in transliterated Latin agreeing closely with the Roman Psalter, in a prescription among medical recipes in the fifteenth-century Vienna, ÖNB cod.

is king, Christ conquers, Christ shelters and protects from every evil. (*inner ring*:) Remember, Lord, the prayer of your servant and forgive. Jesus Christ conquers.

10. For honor and love. "Listen, God, to my plea" (Psalm 60 [61]). Write it at an eclipse of the moon on Saturday or Tuesday, the first hour of the day, with the characters on white paper with white pigment⁷⁴ or with saffron and musk. (*seal; at corners of seal*:) Jesus Christ conquers. (*within seal* [fig. 4]:) Jesus Christ conquers. *Mgorpphanous sēos auto proeretetēmē*, also to your servant Kostas, redeem him.

11. "A hymn befits you, God, in Zion" (Psalm 64 [65]) is useful for a fishing-boat,⁷⁵ for waves at sea, and for rough weather. Write it on Friday in the first hour, carry it as your ensign. (*at corners of seal* [fig. 5]:) Jesus Christ conquers. (*within seal*:) Jesus Christ conquers. "The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, his ears upon their plea (Psalm 33 [34]:16). The Lord is his helper (Psalm 27 [28]:7)."⁷⁶

12. "Cry out to the Lord, all the earth" (Psalm 65 [66]) is useful for judgments at court. Write the characters and carry them and you will not be afraid—on Sunday in the first hour. (*at corners of seal* [fig. 6]:) Jesus Christ conquers. (*within seal, outer ring*:) Jesus Christ conquers. "Raise your gates, rulers, and be lifted up, eternal gates, and the king of glory will enter (Psalm 23 [24]:7),"⁷⁷ (*within seal, inner ring*:) *ēli ēli*

med. gr. 45, f. 39v (unpublished), εἰς τὸ λύσαι ἄνδρα δεδεμένον. γράψαι εἰς τὸ σταυρὶν αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ κάτωθεν τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα. "τολῦται πορτας πριτζίπτες βεστρης εθ ελαβαμνην πορτα εθ ητρο ρες γλοριαι· κνεις στε ραις γλωριαι· τομηνους φορτους." ("To release a man who has been bound. Write this on his hip or his front below his navel: 'Raise the gates, princes, and be raised up, gate<s>, and the king of glory shall <come> in. Who is the king of glory? The Lord, strong..." The *Psalterium Romanum* gives tollite portas principes uestri et eleuamini portae aeternales et introibit rex gloriae. quis est iste rex gloriae? dominus fortis...(23:7–8), ed. Weber, *Le Psautier Romain*. Weber notes a variant uestris for uestri, corresponding to βεστρης here, in an early medieval, northern Italian Psalter (cod. ζ = Vat. lat. 5359).

N

ring) ἤλι ἤλι λαμὰ σαβαθχάνατε. θεέ μου, θεέ μου, μή με
85 ἐγκαταλείπης τὸν δοῦλόν σου Νίκο.

10v | 13. “ὁ θεὸς οἰκτιρήσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ εὐλογῆσαι ἡμᾶς”
εἶναι ὠφέλιμος διὰ τὴν ἵκετον καὶ ἐχθρόν σου.
διάβασέ το εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ χύσε το εἰς τὴν πόρτα του.
γράψον τὸν ψαλμὸν μὲ τὰς χαρακτῆρες καὶ βάστα τον.
90 σ τ τ κ ζ η κ ε.

14. γράψον “ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ πρόσχες” τὸν
ψαλμὸν ὅλον καὶ βάστα τον σήμά σου καὶ ἀποδιώκονται
οἱ δαίμονες.

11r | 15. ὁ 109 ψαλμός ἐστιν ὠφέλιμος εἰς μάγια καὶ τὴν
95 ἀποδιώξεως κατὰ τὴν ὥρα καὶ κακὸ συναπάν-
τημα ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων. λάβε ὕδωρ καὶ συνάλειμμα ἀπὸ τὸν
ἅγιον Ἐλισῆ καὶ Ἠλία τὸν προφήτην καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ἅγιον
Ἰωάννην τὸν προδρομον καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ἅγιον Ῥηγίνον καὶ
ἀπὸ τὸν ἅγιον Κυπριανὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ἅγιον Εὐτύχιον
100 καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ἅγιον Χαρίτων<α> καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ἅγιον
11v Προκόπιον. λοιπὸν λάβε ὅλα τὰ δρόσιμα μέσα εἰς ἓνα
σκεῦος χαλκὸν καὶ θέσε τα εἰς τὸ γάστρι καὶ τὸ πρωῒ πρὶν
ἐβγῇ ὁ ἥλιος βάλε τα εἰς πρῶτο λαγύνι. βάλε καὶ λίγον
ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ βάλε τα ἐν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ ἄς
105 κοχλιάζουσιν καλὰ καὶ εἴστε διάβασε τὸν ψαλμὸν τρεῖς
φορὰς ἀπάνου ἔς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἄς λουστῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος.
ὁμοίως γράψε τὸν ψαλμὸν καὶ βάστα σήμά σου καὶ
θέλεις λυθῇ ἀπὸ πάντα κακῶ.

12r | 16. εἰς ἐχθρόν σου. γράψε εἰς χαρτὶ ἀγέννητον τὲς
110 χαρακτῆρες καὶ βάστα εἰς τὸ στῆθος σου καὶ οὐ φοβηθῇς.
καὶ τὸν ἔκτον ψαλμὸν διάβασέ τον. οἱ χαρακτῆρες.

84 Mt. 27:47, Mc. 15:34 86 Ps. 66:2 91 Ps. 79:2

101 λοιπὸν cod. 111 ἐκ τῶν ψαλμῶν Šangin | αἱ
Šangin

78 Cf. Matt. 27:47 and Mark 15:34; and further PV §29
with commentary.

79 ἵκετον seems best taken as a form of ἀποκόβω,
apparently via a by-form ἀποκοβέω: cf. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, 3:47
s.v. ἀποκόπτω, with variants including ἵκετον.

80 Elisha and Elijah were jointly venerated in the Byzantine
Church, in particular at the Church of the Holy Apostles in
Constantinople, see BS 4:1128, 1131. For Elijah see also §32
below.

81 Bishop of Skopelon and martyr: see BS 11:79–80; for
his commemoration in the Byzantine Church, on 24
February, see the Menologion of Basil II, PG 117:325 (no.
210).

82 On Cyprian see PV §24 with note.

83 Of the several homonymous saints the most likely
candidates are the disciple of the apostle John (BS
5:319–20), and the patriarch of Constantinople (d. 582, see
BS 5:323–24).

lama sabbathchanate (sic), my God, my God, do not
forsake me,⁷⁸ your servant Nikos.

13. “God, may you take pity on us and bless us”
(Psalm 66 [67]) is useful so that you may destroy⁷⁹
your enemy. Repeat it over water and pour it out at his
door. Write the Psalm with the characters and carry it:
sttkzēke.

14. Write “Shepherd of Israel, attend” (Psalm 79
[80]), the whole Psalm, and carry it as your ensign and
demons will be repelled.

15. The 109th (110th) Psalm is useful for magic
and so that you may repel from a person a curse and an
evil hour or encounter. Take water and holy oil from
Saint Elisha and Elijah the prophet⁸⁰ and from Saint
John the Forerunner and from Saint Reginus⁸¹ and
from Saint Cyprian⁸² and from Saint Eutychius⁸³ and
from Saint Chariton⁸⁴ and from Saint Procopius.⁸⁵
Then take all the wet ingredients in a brass vessel and
put them under the stars,⁸⁶ and in the morning before
the sun comes out put them into a first-quality vessel.
Put in a bit of seawater too, and put them in the fire
and let them boil well and then⁸⁷ repeat the Psalm
three times over the water and let the person wash.
Likewise write the Psalm and carry (it) as your ensign
and you will be released from every evil.

16. For your enemy.⁸⁸ Write the characters on skin
from an unborn animal and carry on your chest and

84 Chariton of Palestine (d. c. 350), on whom see BS
3:791–92. Chariton was commemorated in the Byzantine
Church on 28 September: Menologion of Basil, PG 117:76
(no. 73).

85 The martyr Procopius of Caesarea, honored with at least
four churches in Constantinople: BS 10:1159–66.

86 εἰς τὸ γάστρι, for ἄστρι(ο)ν; on the procedure cf. D5 §2
with commentary. The phrase might also be articulated εἰς τὸ
γάστρι (“into the bellied vessel”), but with inferior sense:
both the following specification of a time before sunrise and
the use of three synonyms for “vessel” lack clear motivation.

87 εἴστε: the sense requires the adverb (hence, a variant for
εἴτα) in place of the more familiar vernacular verbal form of
εἰμί.

88 For the procedure compare e.g., the recipe edited from
the fifteenth-century Bologna, BU cod. 3632, f. 482v, in
Delatte, *Anecdota*, 624.

N

115
12v
17. όταν 'πάνης με τὸν ἐχθρόν σου εἰς ἀφεντίαν.
γράφει τὲς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρες εἰς ἄρτον καὶ φάγε τον
καὶ οὐκ ἔχουν στόμα νὰ λαλοῦν κατὰ σου.

118. εἰς φίλτρον. γράψε 'ς τὴν ἀπαλάμη σου τὴν
ἀριστερὴν καὶ δείξέ το.

125
13r
19. ὁμοίως. γράψον φίλτρον 'ς τὴν ἀπαλάμη σου
τῷ πρώτῳ πέφτω τῆς σελήνης πρὶν τοῦ ἔκτου καὶ δείξέ
το καὶ νὰ θαυμάσης.

130
20. "κύριος ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου." αὐτὸς ὁ ψαλμὸς
ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμος νὰ τὸν διαβάξῃς ἀπάνου εἰς ῥοδόλαιον.
καὶ ἄλειφε τὸ πρόσωπό σου καὶ θέλεις ἔχειν ἀγάπην με
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὁμοίως γράφε καὶ τὰς χαρακτῆρας με
ζαφάραν ἡμέρα παρασκευῇ ὥρα πρώτη εἰς | τὴν γέννα
τῆς σελήνης καὶ με τὸν ψαλμὸν βάστα καὶ τὰς χαρακτῆ-
ρας. λέγουν "τὸ στέφος τῆς βασιλείας τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ
Ἑμμανουήλ."

140
21. "κρίνον μοι κύριε." αὐτὸς ὁ ψαλμὸς εἶναι ὠφέ-
λιμος νὰ λύσῃς μάγια. διάβαζε τὸν ψαλμὸν νηστικός
ἀνατελλας τοῦ ἡλίου ἀπάνου εἰς ὕδωρ. νὰ εἶναι ἀπὸ | τὰ
Φῶτα καὶ νὰ εἶσαι καθαρὸς. καὶ διάβαζε τον τρεῖς φορές
ἕως τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἄς τὸ πίνῃ νηστικός. καὶ γράψον

131 Ps. 20:2 (κύριε) 141 Ps. 25:1 (με)

124 στινὰ παλάμη Šangin 125 ἀριστερὰν Šangin
127 στινὰ παλάμη Šangin 131 οὗτος Šangin 135 εἰς {εἰς}
cod. 141 ὠφέλιμος εἶναι Šangin

89 Compare D4 §1, and further the recipe for erotic magic in the fifteenth-century Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108, f. 361r, in which magical words are to be written on pieces of bread, which the target should then be caused to eat: Delatte, *Anecdota*, 635.

90 A very similar procedure appears in the late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 27v, ed. Delatte, *Anecdota*, 66; the same fifteenth-century

you will not be afraid—and repeat the sixth Psalm. The characters: (*signs*).

17. When you go with your enemy before an authority.⁸⁹ Write the characters below on bread and eat it and they will have no mouth to speak against you: (*signs*).

18. For a philter.⁹⁰ Write on your left palm and show it (to the target): (*signs*).

19. Likewise. Write as a philter on your palm in the first fifth of the lunar month, before the sixth (day), and show it, and you will be amazed (*signs*).

20. "Lord, in your power" (Psalm 20 [21]). This Psalm is useful to repeat over rose oil—anoint your face, and you will have love among people. Likewise, write also the characters with saffron on Friday in the first hour at the new moon, and with the Psalm carry also the characters. They say, "The crown of the kingdom of the salvation of Emanuel:"⁹¹ (*signs*).

21. "Judge for me, Lord" (Psalm 25 [26]). This Psalm is useful to loose magic. Repeat the Psalm while fasting, at sunrise, over water—it should be from (the celebration of) Epiphany, and you should be purified—and repeat it three times for three days, and let (the patient) drink it while fasting. Write the Psalm

manuscript cited in the previous note, at f. 359v, gives a variant in which the user's blood is specified as the ink, and the palm need only be brought near, rather than shown to, the target: Delatte, *Anecdota*, 635. For a more distant reminiscence of the technique cf. also *ibid.* 58.

91 For such exegesis of the signs cf. PV §29, M §1, and N §21 below.

N

ἀφανότητος. καὶ ἔχε καὶ τῆς ὀχέας τὸ κεφάλι, νὰ τὸ ἔχῃς ἀποτομάῃ κομμένο. καὶ βάστα τῆς ἀλουποῦς τὴν καρδιά καὶ τοῦ κοράκου τὸ μυαλὸ καὶ ξήρανέ τα.



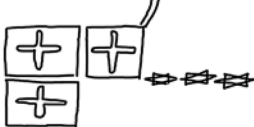
170 (within sign) ἡ χαρακτήρα τῆς ἀφανότητος.
16r | 25. ἐὰν θέλῃς νὰ κάμῃς καμμίαν ἄρχην εἰς τὴν δουλείαν σου· κάμε αὐτὰ τὰ κάτωθεν γεγραμμένα καὶ νὰ τὰ βαστᾷς ἀπάνου σου ἢ εἰς κρίσιν ἢ εἰς πόλεμον. καὶ ἂ 'δὲν πιστεύῃς, γράψον καὶ δέσε τα εἰς πετεινὸν εἰς τὸ
175 λαιμόν του καὶ τόξευσέ τον, ὅπου 'δὲν σκοτώνεται, καὶ νὰ ἴδῃς τὴν ἀλήθεια τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ὄντος νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν·

16v 180

16v 180

16v 180

26. ἐὰν θέλῃς νὰ 'γλύσῃς ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ κρέμασμα νὰ μὴν μαρτυρᾷ· γράψον τὰ κάτωθεν σημεῖα εἰς πρόσωπον ἄρτου καὶ ἂς τὸ φάγῃ καὶ 'δὲν ὁμολογᾷ. καὶ κάμε καὶ φυλακτὸ καὶ ἂς τὸ βαστάῃ· πουκημπ συην μουπαις
185 μπευρρι τησμπεν τωδω εμμεδηχττε βανγκονρπου δυνβ-
17r βνα πωραρα μηδηστε εστας οαλταν | σμανηα τινγκαισ-
τας μπουπτῆς μασαττας δητια τιειν φανεγκαιστας



pp θθ σσ.

190 27. φυλακτήρια ὅπου ἐφόρουσε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐνίκησε τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο βασιλεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων· γράφε εἰς χαρτὶν ἀγέννητον μὲ ῥοδόστα-
μαν τὲς κάτωθεν χαρακτήρας·

17v

17v

17v

not see yourself, that is the seed of invisibility. Have also the head of the viper,⁹⁸ you should have cut it off. Carry also the heart of the fox and the marrow of the crow, and dry them out. (sign) The character of invisibility.

25. If you wish to put a power at your service, make these (signs) written below, and you should carry them on you either to court or to war. If you do not believe, write and bind them to a rooster, on its neck, and shoot it with an arrow, whereupon it will not be killed,⁹⁹ and you will see the truth of Jesus Christ, the one who is, now and always and forever and ever, amen: (signs).

26. If you wish to free a person from hanging, so that he not bear witness, write the signs below on the outside of a loaf of bread and let him eat it, and he will not confess. Also make (the signs) into an amulet and let him carry it: *poukēmp suēn moupais mpeurri tēsmpen tōdō emmedēchte bangkonrpou dunbbna pōrara mēdēste estas oaltan smanēa tingkaistas mpuptdēs masattas dētia tiein phanegkaistas (signs) rr thth ss.*

27. Amulets that Alexander the king wore and conquered the 72 kings of the Greeks.¹⁰⁰ Write on skin from an unborn animal, with rose oil, the characters below: (signs).

171 κακίαν Šangin 175 δοξεψε cod. 176 ὦνα cod.
190 ἐφόρησε Šangin 192 ῥοδόσταγμαν Šangin

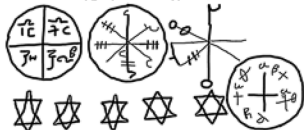
98 For ὀχέα cf. Modern Greek οχιά.

99 On the test by bird cf. the recipe edited by Delatte, *Anecdota*, 553, from the thirteenth-century Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2894, f. 336v, in which a contraceptive preparation, of donkey's milk and bean-seed wrapped in deerskin, is recommended for proofing by attachment to a bird, which will likewise be prevented from conceiving.

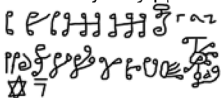
100 Perhaps a distant reminiscence of the victory at Chaironeia; for Alexander's role as a protector in Greek incantations see e.g., the text edited by Delatte, *Anecdota*, 613–14, in which, with the help of the archangel Michael, he defends humanity against rabid dogs (from the fifteenth-century Naples, BN cod. II C 33, ff. 46v–47r).

N

28. εἰς κρίσιν· ἔπαρον χαρτὶν ἀγέννητον καὶ γράψε
τὲς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρας·



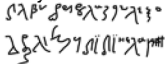
200 29. ἕτερον φυλακτήριον· ἔπαρον χαρτὶν ἀγέννητον,
18r γράφε μὲ κιννάβαρι. ὅταν ὑπᾶς εἰς κρίσιν, δέσ' το
ἀποκαύτου εἰς τὸ ζερβὶν σου χέρι·



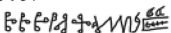
205 30. εἰς λύσιμον ἀνδρόγυνο· γράψε τὲς χαρακτῆρες
αὐτὲς καὶ ἅς τὲς βασιτῶ· “ἀπέστειλεν βασιλεὺς, ἄρχοντας
λαοῦ, καὶ ἔλυσεν αὐτούς.”

18v
215
19r
220

31. ἕτερον· γράψε τὰς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρας καὶ
κάψε τὰς καὶ πότισον αὐτὸν κρυφῶς·



γράφον καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα· “κρήσων· δηλκαρήν·
ζαρηνζαρατάκαιν σαρασαου· δεσταης στομερήτου.” καὶ
'πὲ καὶ τὸν 58 ψαλμόν· “ἐξελοῦ με κύριος.” γράφε καὶ τὰ
225 κάτωθεν·



32. ἕτερον λύσιμον· καὶ λέγε “ὡς ἔλυσεν ὁ ἄγι
'Ηλίας τὰ ὕδατα καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ νέφος ἐ<κ>λύσας τὰς

207–208 ἀπέστειλεν — αὐτούς cf. Ps. 104:20 224 Ps.
139:2 (κύριε); cf. Ps. 58:2 ἐξελοῦ με ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου ὁ θεός

202 ἀποκάτω Ḥangin | ζερβόν Ḥangin 206 χαρακτῆρας
Ḥangin 219 τοὺς Ḥangin 224 γράψε Ḥangin

101 Cf. Ps. 104 (105): 20. A similar prescription with a more accurate citation of the Psalm appears among medical recipes in the fifteenth-century Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2315, f. 216v (unpublished), πρὸς τὸ λύσαι ἄνδρα δεδεμένον· γράψον οὕτως καὶ δὸς καὶ ἅς φορῇ· “ἀπέστειλεν βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔλυσεν αὐτόν, ἄρχων λαοῦ καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν.” (“To release a man who has been bound. Write as follows and give [it to him] and let

28. For a court judgment. Take skin from an unborn animal and write the characters below: (*signs*).

29. Another amulet. Take skin from an unborn animal, write with cinnabar. When you go to judgment, bind it beneath your left hand: (*signs*).

30. For the releasing of a married couple. Write these signs and let (the couple) carry them: “A king sent, a ruler of the people, and he released them.”¹⁰¹ (*signs*).

31. Another. Write the characters below and burn them and give to (the patients) to drink in secret. Write also these words: *krēsōn deēlkarēn zarēnzarata-kain sarasaou destaēs stomerētou*. Say also the 58th (59th) Psalm, “Rescue me, Lord.”¹⁰² Write also the characters below: (*signs*).

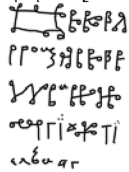
32. Another means of releasing. Say, “As Saint Elijah released the waters and the cloud over the sun,

him wear [it]: “The king sent and released him, the ruler of the people, and set him free.”) See further e.g., in the eighteenth-century manuscript recipe edited by Delatte, *Anecdota*, 116 (f. 63v); and for the scenario of intended use, PV §1 with commentary.

102 In fact the incipit of Ps. 139 (140), here confused with the similar incipit of Ps. 58 (59).

N

230 καταρράκτας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λύσον καὶ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ
θεοῦ τόνδε τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο φλέβας καὶ νεύρας τοῦ
μὴ ἔχειν κώλυσι μήτε ἐμπόδιον· σὺ ν' ἀφήσης νὰ συγγε-
νονήσῃ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ἡ δεῖνα·
ἐ<κ>λυσον αὐτούς. καθὼς ἔλυσεν ὁ ἅγιος Κυπριανὸς τὰς
20r μαγικὰς βύβλους καὶ ἐργάσι, οὕτως καὶ ἐγὼ σήμερον |
235 λύνω τὸν δοῦ<λον> τοῦ θεοῦ τόνδε καὶ ὧδε τάσε
ἐβδομήκοντα δύο [φλέβας καὶ] νεύρας τοῦ κορμί[ου τοῦ]
συγγ<ερον>ῆσαι αὐτοῦ α[ὐτήν]. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν
μετὰ φόβου [θεοῦ]."

240


231 κωλασι cod. | ναφήσας cod. 234 βύβλους conieci :
βάθμους cod. 235 ταση cod.

103 Cf. 3 Kingdoms (1 Kings) 17–18; for the application
of this narrative in Byzantine ritual see e.g., the recipe in the
eighteenth-century manuscript edited by Delatte, *Anecdota*,
116 (f. 63r–v), a prayer (εὐχή) for the same purpose as here,

having loosed the floodgates of heaven,¹⁰³ release also
the servant of God so-and-so, his 72 veins and nerves,
that he have no hindrance or obstacle. May you grant
the coupling of the servant of God so-and-so (male)
and so-and-so (female): release them. As Saint Cyprian
released his magic books and deeds,¹⁰⁴ so I too release
today the servant of God so-and-so, and here the 72
veins and nerves of his body, so that he may couple
with her. Let us stand in good order, let us stand with
fear of God." (*signs*).

and combined as here with a reference to St. Cyprian. For
Elijah see also N §15 with commentary.

104 For the role of Cyprian see PV §24 with commentary.

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Greek Vocabulary

The word list below includes magical words

ἀβερί, PV line 142
Ἀβέρκιος, PV lines 218, 224
ἀγαπάω, PV lines 49, 124; M line 2; N lines 16–19
ἀγάπη, PV line 70; M line 38; N lines 133, 62, 16
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ἀγίασμα, PV line 225
ἀγιασμός, A line 9
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αἰμορροέω, PV line 95
αἰχμαλωσία, B1 line 5; D3 line 4
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line 9; A line 11; N line 133
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ἀνδρόγυνον, PV line 107; N line 206
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ἀνθελάδι, D5 line 9
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ἀπίλογος, N line 24
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ἀπόδεμα, D5 line 32
ἀποδέω, D5 line 38
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ἀπόνιμμα, PV line 152
ἀποστολικός, PV line 219
ἀπόστολος, PV line 224
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Ἄρης, N line 5
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ἀρχιερεύς, PV line 217; S line 28
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ἀστρονομέω, D5 line 14
αὐγόν, PV lines 207, 209; B1 line 33
ἀφαγά, D4 line 3
ἀφάνεια, S line 1
ἀφανής, N line 160
ἀφανότης, N lines 166, 170
ἀφόριος, D5 line 8
Ἀφροδίτη, D5 line 36
ἀφτί, D5 line 20
βαλχακθ, N line 158
βανγκονρπου, N line 185
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Fig. 1. St. Petersburg, RNB cod. gr. 646, folios 4v (*this page*) and 5r (*facing page*)
 (all photos courtesy National Library of Russia)

Ἰς βυγίς ψωγω οβς φντ· τω
 ετ οβωγ· τω· τβί φωγ· τω·
 ηί τω ος· τβί ηί τβί· τωί τω
 ντ πωγ· τω· τβί τω· τω·
 τωγ ηί τω· τω· τω· τω·
 τωγ· τω· τω· τω· τω·
 τβί φωγ· τω· τω· τω·
 τω· τω· τω· τω· τω·

U
J J D X V Y I J W

Four hand-drawn sketches of symbols or characters, likely from a manuscript. From left to right: 1. A stylized 'W' or 'X' shape. 2. A series of four vertical strokes, each with a horizontal crossbar, resembling a comb or a set of parallel lines. 3. A circular shape with several short, radiating lines extending from the top and bottom, resembling a sun or a face. 4. A circular shape with several short, radiating lines extending from the top, resembling a sun or a face.

[illegible]

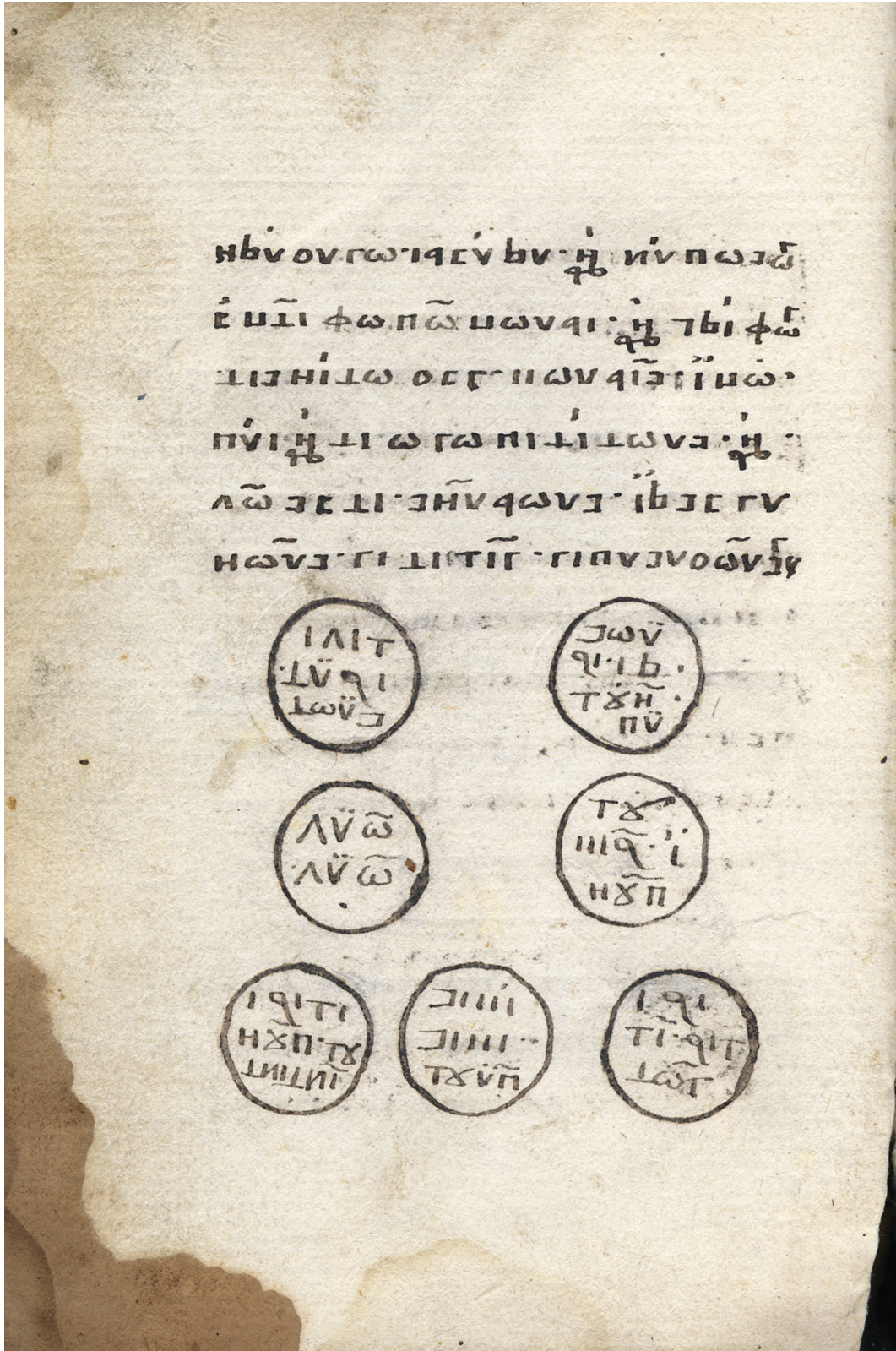


Fig. 2. St. Petersburg, RNB cod. gr. 646, folio 5v



Fig. 3. St. Petersburg, RNB cod. gr. 646, folio 8v



Fig. 4. St. Petersburg, RNB cod. gr. 646, folio 9r



Fig. 5. St. Petersburg, RNB cod. gr. 646, folio 9v

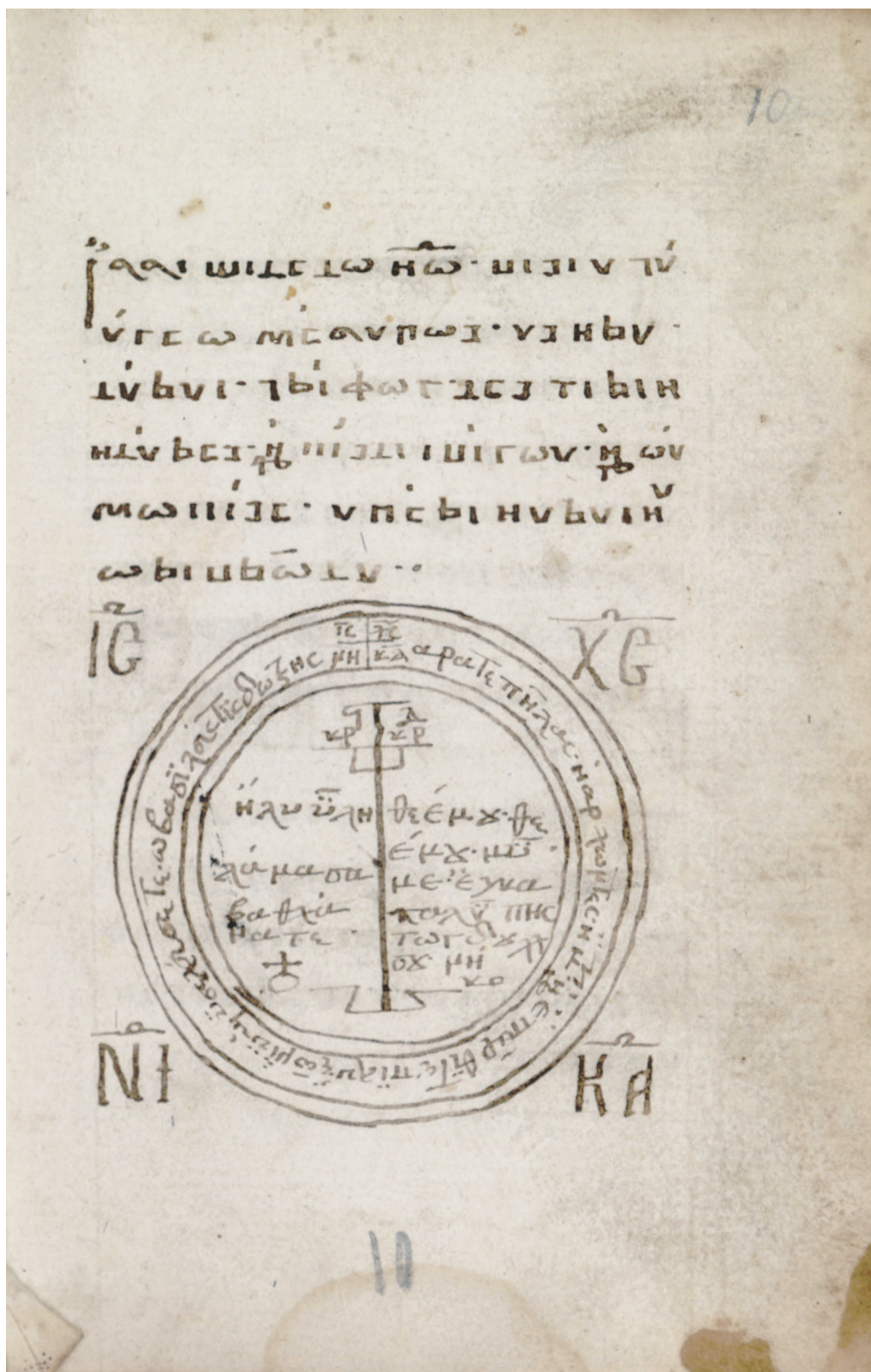


Fig. 6. St. Petersburg, RNB cod. gr. 646, folio 10r

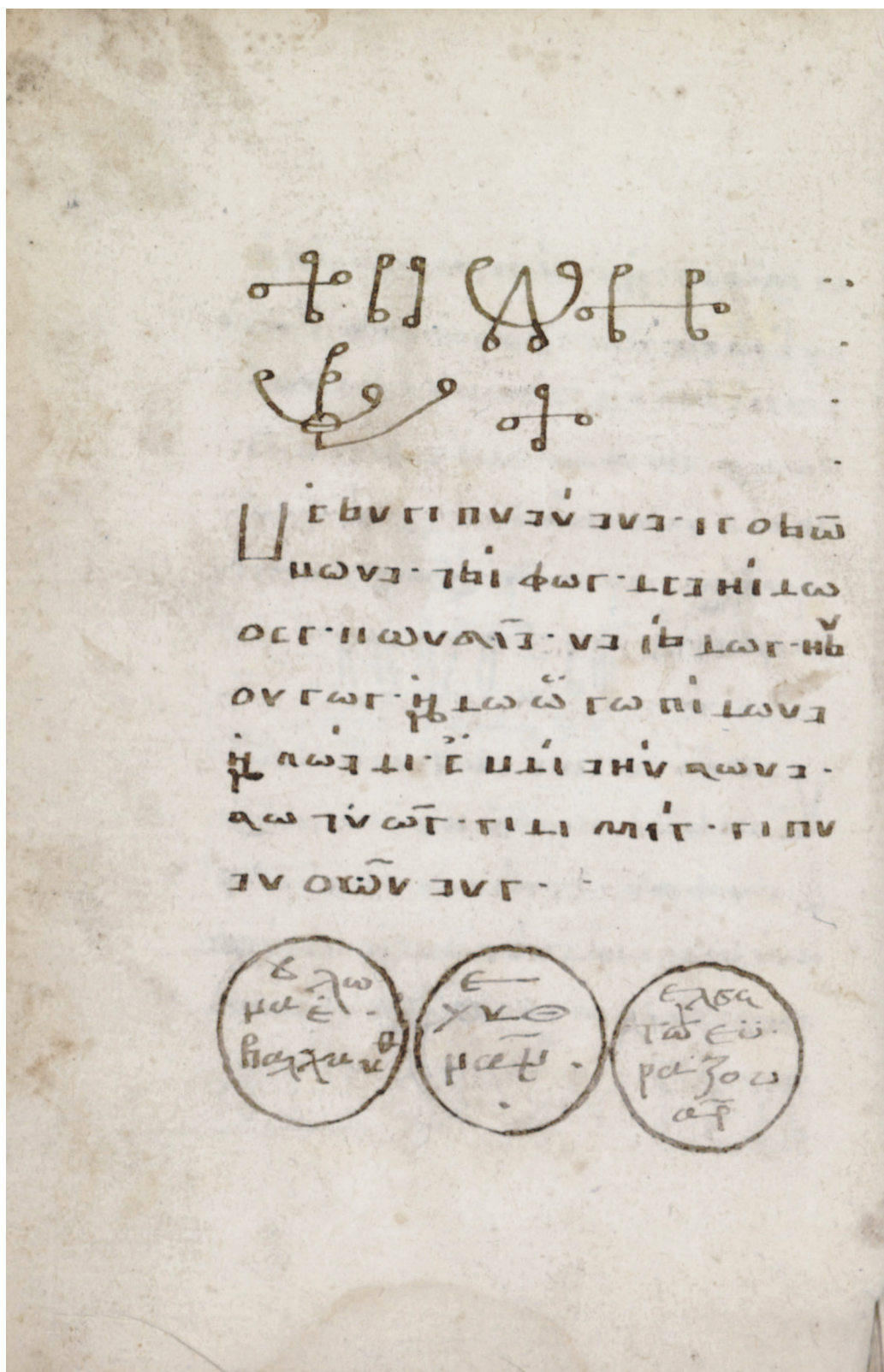


Fig. 7. St. Petersburg, RNB cod. gr. 646, folio 14v

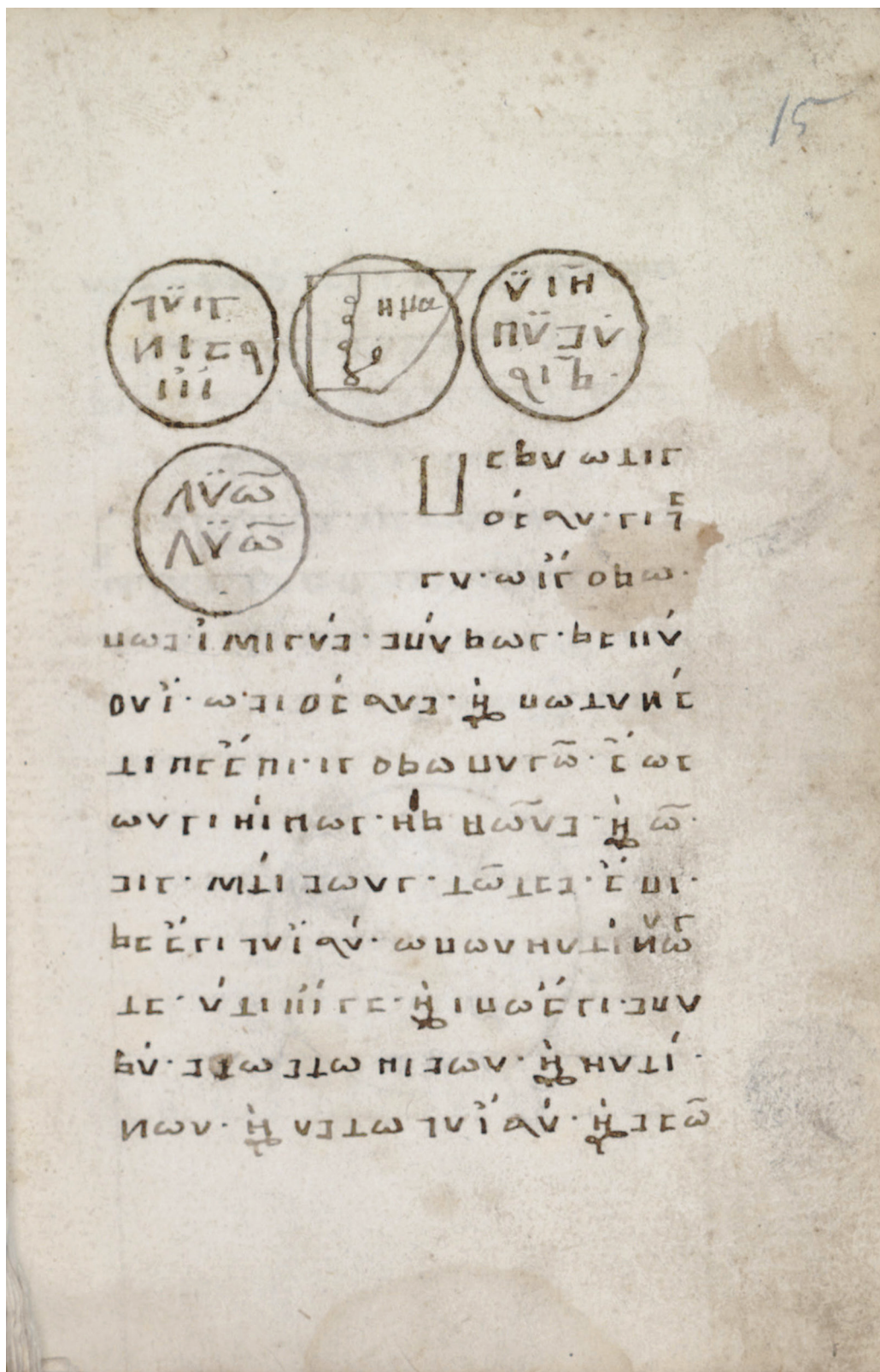


Fig. 8. St. Petersburg, RNB cod. gr. 646, folio 15r